

Battle scene with Rāvana from an old palm-leaf Rāmāyana manuscript, Orissa

HISTORY OF ORISSA

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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD

By

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Vol. I

R. Chatterjee
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To

MY MOTHER

Publisher's Note

It is with mingled feelings that the publisher presents to the public the first volume of the late Professor R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*. The completion of the first half of the work is undoubtedly an occasion for joy and thanksgiving. But the friends and admirers of the author cannot but be sorry that he has not lived to see the publication of even the first volume of his book. Throughout the period of writing it, he had to fight manfully against the ravages of a fell disease which at length removed him from the scene of his earthly labours.

Rakhal Das Banerji's labours in the field of Epigraphy and Numismatics produced some of the most valuable materials for the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India. His work in the sphere of Archæology, during his long connection with the Archæological Survey of India, was brilliant and valuable, crowned as it was by his epoch-making discovery and recognition of the pre-historic civilization of the Indus valley which has opened a new chapter in the history of the world. Indeed in him India has lost a most eminent archæologist and historian.

Some typographical mistakes and other defects may be found in the book, as the author could finally revise only a portion of it in proof and that, too, while suffering from illness. These, it is hoped, will be excused.

R. C.

ADDENDUM TO CH. VIII

An inscribed *Puri Kushan* coin was assigned by the writer to the middle of the 7th century A. D.; possibly to the 6th century.[1] Writing on a similar hoard of coins from Balasore, Rai Bahadur R. Chanda writes :

"Hitherto only one coin of this type, noticed by Messrs. Walsh and Banerji, has been known. The Balasore hoard includes sixty-three coins with the legend *tanka.* In this group Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod distinguishes four different types and among the other coins of the hoard no less than twenty-eight types in accordance with the difference in the position of the sun and the crescent and the attitude of the standing figure. In this connection I may refer to another hoard of copper coins of the 'Puri Kushan' type found in association of a large number of copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. This hoard was found in 1923 in an earthen pot buried in a field at Bhanjakia in the Panchpir Subdivision of the Mayurbhanj State. The Mayurbhanj hoard includes two coins with the legend *tanka.* As coins of so-called 'Puri Kushan' type have been found not only in the Puri District, but also in the Balasore District, the Mayurbhanj State, in Orissa, in the adjacent Ganjam District in the Madras Presidency and in the Singhbhoom District in Chota Nagpur it, would now appear reasonable to drop the name 'Puri Kushan' and designate this class of coins as 'Oriya Kushan.' "[2]

[1] *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Vol. V, pp. 78 & 84.

[2] Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1924-25, pp. 131-32.

LIST OF CORRECTIONS.

Line 30.	Page 15	Read	Saruas	in place of	Susaris
13, 14	18.	„	Garuras	„	Gauras
10	„ 109.	Omit	not		
4	152.	Read	Tosala	„	Kosala
19	„ 155.		Kongada „	„	Konda
17	„ 160.		Hindol „ „	„	Dhenkanal
13	„ 179.		Bamanghati in the Mayurbhanj State	„	The Daspalla State

Preface

The first suggestion for writing a History of Orissa was made to me twenty years ago by Sj. Rama Prasad Chanda, B. A. (now Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B., Superintendent of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta), when he came to Calcutta on special leave to collect materials for his epoch-making work, "*The Indo-Āryan Races*". Eighteen years afterwards the same scholar made arrangements for the publication of this work in consultation with Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, M. A.

During the course of the compilation of this work I have received very great help from Pandit Tarakeswara Ganguli of the Mayurbhanja State in the shape of copies of important records in the Records Departments of various local Governments and the Government of India, original and unpublished copper plate grants from the States of Dhenkanal and Baudh and arrangements for facilities for my short tour in the Baudh State. Without his help it would have been impossible for me to complete this work within a short time. I am also very much indebted to Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B. A., formerly of Baroda, and at present of Poona, for much valuable help, the principal of which is the loan of two copies of the very rare *Bakhar* of the Nagpur Bhonsles by Kashinath Rajesvar Gupte. At first Mr. Sardesai sent me an incomplete copy of this *Bakhar* belonging to Mr. Ganesh Gopal Khandekar of Harasiddhi Gate, Ujjain ; but later on at my request he sent a complete copy from his own library, along with a set of exceedingly rare printed letters of Yasovant Rao Holkar, written to Raghuji Bhonsle II on the eve of the Third

Maratha War. Without Mr. Sardesai's help it would not have been possible for me to utilize all known sources of the History of Orissa during the Maratha period. I understand from my friend Nawabzada A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of Records of the Government of India that a fifth Volume of the Calendar of Persian correspondence is almost ready for publication, and I regret very much to state that I cannot utilize the mass of material regarding the condition of Orissa during the latter part of the Maratha period which it must contain. Throughout the compilation of this work I have received many valuable suggestions from Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B. Sc., Archæological Scholar, Mayurbhanja State, the real discoverer of the Neolithic site of Baidyapur. It was possible for me to examine the important temples at Gandharadi and other antiquities in the Baudh State on account of the very great interest in the History and the antiquities of the country of Rajah Narayan Prasad Dev, Chief of Baudh. The photographs of the Gandharadi temples and that of the colossal image of Buddha in Baudh town were supplied by Raja Narayan Prasad Dev, for which I am very much indebted to him. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee for going through the final manuscript of this voluminous work before it was sent to the press. Finally, I must thank my friend Sj. Kedarnath Chatterjee, B. Sc., for taking infinite trouble about the printing, illustration and publication of this work. He has helped me at every stage, helping me whenever my physical incapacity made it impossible for me to expedite this work.

R. D. BANERJI

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY
The 26th September, 1929.

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HISTORY OF ORISSA

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY

The country, which is now known to us as Orissa, was originally included in the country or province of Kaliṅga. The modern term, Oṛissa, is derived from Oḍra, which is the name of a very small part of Orissa. The country of Kaliṅga was practically co-extensive with the Oṛiyā-speaking tracts of Bihar and Orissa and Madras. It is also quite possible that portions of the Telugu-speaking districts to the north of the Delta of the Godāvarī were originally Oṛiyā-speaking districts. The Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā *Doāb*, especially that part of it which lies at the bottom of the Eastern Ghats, was the march-land between Kaliṅga and the Andhra country. An account of Orissa must, therefore, necessarily be an account of Kaliṅga or Greater Orissa, as she originally was, until the last days of her independence.

The country of Kaliṅga was divided from very early times into three parts and was called *Tri-Kaliṅga.* This term was translated into the Dravidian languages as *Muḍu-Kaliṅga*, which the western writers, Megasthenes and Pliny, transliterated into "*Modo-Galingam.*" Some modern writers say that *Muḍu* and *Kaliṅgam* become *Mukkaliṅgam*, if combined according to the rules of modern Telugu grammar. Mr. Ramdas suggests that this term is derived from Modugula, the name of a village in the Vizagapatam

district.[1] But Mr. Ramdas has not proved whether the modern rules of combination (*sandhi*) held good in the 1st century A. D. or not. The existence of the term *Tri-Kaliṅga* in Sanskrit tempts us to accept *Muḍu-Kaliṅgam* as a direct translation of the Sanskrit form or *vice versa*. The natural division of the northern extremity of the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal is very well suited to the term *Tri-Kaliṅga*. The country of Kaliṅga originally extended up to the modern districts of Medinipur and Howrah in Bengal. Even in Mughal times the Suvarṇarekhā river, now in the south-western part of the district of Medinipur, was regarded as the northern boundary of Orissa. Even now the titles of the majority of Hindu Zamindars of Medinipur prove that they were land-holders and feudatories of the Hindu kings of Orissa at no distant date. The people of south-western Medinipur are very much like those of Balasore and the Mayurbhañja State in manners, customs, language, and caste. Towards the west the language of Orissa gradually merges into that of the aboriginal tribes, who live in the secluded valleys of the Eastern Ghats, beginning with Dhalbhum and Singhbhum to the north and west of Mayurbhañja and ending with the States of Karond, Kanker and Bastar in the Central Provinces. The districts of Khammamet and Nalgonda in the Nizam's dominions lie on the Ghats immediately to the west of the Kṛishṇā-Godāvarī *Doāb* and these are the northern-most districts of the Telugu country on the Deccan plateau. The vast country on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, which extended from the Delta of the Ganges to that of the Godāvarī was

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIV, 1928, pp. 539-40*

called Kaliṅga in ancient times. Nature has divided this tract into three different parts, the first of which consists of the flat alluvial plain which begins from the western bank of the Damodar and contains the hill tracts of Mayurbhañja, Keunjhar and Angul. This tract is intersected by the great rivers Rupnārāyan, Haldi, Suvarṇarekhā, Barabalang, Vaitaraṇī, Brāhmaṇī and the now defunct Prāchī. The second division begins from the right bank of the Mahānadī and contains the hilly tracts between that river and the Godāvarī and is bisected by the Rushikulyā river. Here the hills extend almost to the sea and the width of the coast land is extremely narrow with certain extensions, as in the tract of the country between the Mahānadī Delta and the Chilka lake and again between the Southern bank of the Chilka and the basin of the Rushikulyā river. To the south of Berhampur-Ganjam, the ghats almost touch the sea and reach one of their highest points at Mahendragiri in the Mandasa Zamindari. To the south of Mahendragiri there is a stretch of plain flat country along the banks of the Lāṅguliyā river and it was on this part of the coast that Kaliṅga-nagaram, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga, was situated. There are no important rivers between the Lāṅguliyā and the Godāvarī, and the country also is much less productive. Originally the Andhra country seems to have lain to the south of the Godāvarī, though the Telugu language has now crept up northwards along the coast in the Vizagapatam district. The northern part of the Andhra country was very important as providing direct access into the interior of the Deccan plateau along the Rekapalli-Bhadrachalam road and again by the pass followed by the Bezwada-Warangal section of the Nizam's Guaranteed

State Railway. This tract contains numerous creeks as well as the famous lake of Kolar.

The political divisions of the country of Kaliṅga were very different. The Medinipur and Balasore districts, along with that portion of the country which lay towards the north of the Brāhmaṇī-Vaitaraṇi was called Utkala, the central tract consisting of the modern districts of Cuttack, Puri, and the Northern part of the Ganjam district, along with some of the small states on both banks of Mahānadī, such as Ranpur, Nayagadh, Khandpara Daspalla, Tigiria and Athgadh, was called Tosala. Most probably the country between the Chilka lake and Mahendragiri was called Koṅgoda or Koṅgada, because one of the charters make it clear that Koṅgada was situated in Southern Tosala. There are distinct mentions of two different Tosalas in later inscriptions, one of which must be to the north of the Chilka and the other to the south extending as far as the Ghumsur *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district. The reference in Jātakas to the river Telavāhā as being the boundary of Kaliṅga or Andhra is impossible to believe, because in the tract now traversed by the modern river Tel there is no sign of any Telugu-speaking people.

There is no natural boundary, at the present time, dividing Koṅgoda or southern Tosala from Kaliṅga, unless we take it for granted that the Vaṁśadhārā or the Lāṅgulīyā were at one time much larger and perhaps tidal rivers which could be taken as a landmark. From Chikakole to the Godāvarī Delta the country is very beautiful but in this tract the ghats are divided into a number of parallel ranges which reduce the breadth of the flat plain country to a minimum. The rivers in this tract are few and far between

and very small in size. This is Kaliṅga proper as described by Yuan Chwang in the 7th century A.D. The people of this country were warlike from the very dawn of history and it was reduced with great difficulty by the Musalman conquerors of Orissa. The ferocity of the people of Kaliṅga may be judged from the number of people killed and captured during Aśoka's campaign in Kaliṅga. In mediaeval times, long after the Musalman conquest of Northern Orissa, Central and Southern Orissa continued to offer stout resistance to the Quṭb-shāhī Sulṭāns of Golkonda and the independent Pathan or Afghan Sulṭāns of Bengal. The Musalmans of Golkonda ousted the Gajapatis of Ganjam in 1571, but the first Musalman Faujdār of Chikakol was appointed only a few years before 1641.[1]

The invasions of Southern India from Orissa and South Indian armies penetrating into Orissa, came for the most part through the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā *Doāb*, because the network of rivers in the Deltas of these two rivers prevented the passage of large armies through it, along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. In this region naval activity revived after the decline of Portuguese power in Asia and from Coconada in the north to Nizampatam in the south, a line of ports sprang suddenly into existence on account of the activity of English, Dutch and French traders. The coast-land from Hijli in the Medinipur district to Madras does not include any good harbours or roadsteads. The shore slopes away gradually from the coast and deep water is available only after two or three miles. Moreover, the sea is very rough during the South-eastern Monsoon when cyclones visit this coast almost every year. Inspite

1 J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib, Vol. I, p. 215.*

of these natural defects the people of ancient Kaliṅga developed into good sailors very early in the history of the country. Signs and remains of the tremendous maritime activity of the people of Kaliṅga are still abundant in Ceylon, Further India and the Indian Archipelago.[1]

On its Western frontier Kaliṅga and Orissa are protected by range after range of hills, the offshoots of the great Eastern Ghats, which form a very effective bulwark on that side ; but, at the same time, the secluded valleys between these ranges have sheltered the primitive inhabitants of India from time immemorial. Here are to be found the Kolian tribes speaking languages of the Austric race, who clung pertinaciously to their own languages, manners and customs for centuries and who have given up infanticide and human sacrifice long after the British conquest. These aboriginal tribes have been seldom conquered by earlier kings of the country, who were often pleased to accept a nominal submission from their chiefs. To the north of Mayurbhañja lies Dhalbhum and Singbhum, tracts forming the home-land of the Kolian people. The North-western portion of the Mayurbhañja State is almost entirely inhabited by aboriginals. In modern times the states of Gangpur, Bonai, Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Karond with a portion of the British district of Sambalpur form a line along which the aboriginals live with a sprinkling of North Indian or Oṛiyā population, and in this tract a sort of hybrid Oṛiyā is spoken, showing that the original inhabitants of the country were civilized by the people of Orissa and Kaliṅga. This part of the highlands of Orissa was called Khiñjali in ancient times and was divided into two

1 See Chapter III.

parts by the river Mahānadī. The chiefs of this area now claim Rajput descent, but the discrepancies in the accounts preserved or published by them prove that in the majority of cases they are of hybrid descent or mere pretenders to Rajput descent. In mediaeval ages the country to the west of Khiñjali was called Mahākośala or Dakshiṇa-Kośala and was subject to the Somavaṁśīs and the Haihayas of Tripurī and Ratnapura. The present characteristics of the population and the dialects spoken point to a aboriginal or mixed descent.

To the south of Patna and Karond a broad horn of British territory along Kotpad, Naorangpur, Poragadh, Amarkot and Raigadh penetrates into this hilly country, dividing the Indian state of Bastar from the states now included in the modern province of Bihar and Orissa. In Bastar the modern Telugu or Andhra influence is traceable directly to the immigration of the Kākatīya dynasty, which migrated from Ekaśilā-nagarī or Warangal in the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā *Doāb*, across the Godāvarī, to the hilly country occupied by the aborigines when Waraṅgal was finally conquered by the Baḥmanī Sulṭāns of Bidar. The language spoken in this state is a sort of hybrid Telugu, which is as different from real Telugu as the Oṛiyā of Sambalpur is from the pure Oṛiyā of Puri and Cuttack.

The inclusion of the Oṛiyā speaking district of Ganjam in the Madras Presidency is due to the different steps in the Musalman conquest of Orissa. While the Sulṭāns of Bengal conquered Northern Orissa in 1568, their own independence was at stake, as Akbar destroyed the independence of the Musalman kingdom of Bengal eight years later, in 1576. The Musalman conquest of Central Orissa was

left unfinished and the Afghans seldom succeeded in penetrating into the interior of the Mahānadī Delta. The Quṭb-shāhīs of Golkonda were very slow in approaching Central Orissa, though they occupied Rājamahendrī soon after the death of Pratāparudra. They advanced as far as Qasimkoṭā in many different stages. So far only the plain flat country at the foot of the Ghats had submitted to them and the Hindu chiefs remained independent in the vast hilly country to the North-west. The Ganjam district was reached by the Quṭb-shahis only a few years before their fall in 1687. Because the Oṛiyā speaking tracts were included at that date in the kingdom of Golkonda, therefore they continued in the *Ṣūbah* of Ḥaidarābād till their transfer to the British in 1761. Even after the unification of the whole of the Oṛiyā-speaking countries under British rule in 1804-5 and 1856, the Ganjam district still continues to form a part of Madras, and the states on the border of Kośala belonged to the Central Provinces till 1905, while Southern Medinipur is still included in Bengal.

The Bastar State forms a continual boundary of Kaliṅga Proper, now represented by the Vizagapatam district towards the west. To the north-west of that part of the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā *Doāb*, which lies at the foot of the Eastern Ghats, are to be found the districts of Khammamet and Nalgonda of the Nizam's dominions. The country between Bezwada on the Kṛishṇa and Rājamahendrī on the Godāvarī had been the battlefield between the armies of the North and the South from very ancient times. This part of the country is much more readily accessible from the plateau of the Deccan than any other part of Kaliṅga or Orissa. In this area the net-work of rivers of the Deltas of

the Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī have rendered it extremely fertile and it is very densely populated. The great fortress of Koṇḍaviḍu, near Guntur, to the south of the Kṛishṇā and Rājamahendri to the north of the Godāvarī have been the sites of numerous battles. Another great fortress, that of Koṇḍapalle, was regarded as the key to the *Doāb* up to the end of the 18th century.

In Northern Orissa, as well as in all other parts of this country, the principal towns are situated in the narrow strip of flat plain country at the bottom of the Ghats. The principal towns are the port of Balasore in the north, Jajpur on the river Vaitaraṇī, Cuttack or Katak on the Mahānadī and Puri or Purushottama on the sea. The Chilka lake prevents the formation of any large town on the coast between Puri and Ganjam. The country between Ganjam and Chicacole is without any important towns; but it was in this area that Kaliṅganagaram, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga, was situated. The great series of ports on the Kaliṅga coast begin from modern Kaliṅgapaṭam. In the interior also towns, of a sufficiently large size to be mentioned, are rare.

In Northern Orissa one important artery of traffic is the Katak-Sambalpur road, which practically follows the contour of the Mahānadī and joins the Calcutta-Nagpur road in the vicinity of Sambalpur. The only other important artery of traffic is the Calcutta-Madras road along the coast. Towns in the hilly area behind Orissa proper are few and far between. The only town which deserves mention is Vinītapura or Yayātipura, which is the same as modern Sonpur, chief town of a small state of that name. This was the capital of the degenerate

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Somavaṁśīs, who fled to this part after their expulsion from Sirpur, their ancestral home. Sonpur possesses very few ruins and fewer specimens of antiquity compared with Ratanpur or Sirpur, and the poverty of the new capital of the Somavaṁśīs proves that the dynasty itself rose to no very great prominence. Other towns in this border-land of Orissa are of modern origin and their importance lies merely in the fact that they are the present seats of petty Oṛiyā chiefs, called the chiefs of the Garhjat.

In northern Orissa the only important place from the point of view of antiquity is Khiching, the Khijiṅga of the second group of Bhañja kings, which has been recently explored by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda of the Indian Archaeological Department. The next important ruin in Northern Orissa is Udayagiri and Lalitagiri in the Cuttack District, which was a considerable Buddhist establishment at one time. These ruins have not been sufficiently explored as yet to permit us to form any definite opinion. Kaṭaka or modern Cuttack has been given undue importance by many writers, who have identified it with the word Kaṭaka, meaning the camp of a king in Copper plate charters. Beyond the fact that the position occupied by this town at the junction of the Kāṭjuṛī with the Mahānadī is important, there are no remains of antiquity at any place near Cuttack. Kaṭaka may therefore be a capital of recent origin, specially of the time of the Sūryavaṁśīs, of which period there are several buildings in this town, all ascribed to Pratāparudra. The first important town or city of undoubted antiquity is Dhauli near Bhuvaneśvara, in the vicinity of which there are wide-spread ruins as yet untouched, which may represent Uttara Tosala or Tosalī.

Bhuvaneśvara itself is a town of comparatively greater antiquity in Orissa. The earliest temples at this place go back to the 8th century, if not to the 7th, and the caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills are partly of the 2nd century B.C. and partly of the 9th century A.D. Compared to this area there is no other tract in the whole of Northern Orissa, which goes so far back in date except the unexplored ruins of Gandharāḍi in the Baudh State, on the right bank of the Mahānadī. Purushottama or Puri is undoubtedly of recent origin, as only the main shrine was erected by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga towards the close of the 11th century A. D. Further south, the ruins of only one important town need be mentioned. This is Kaliṅga or Kaliṅga-nagara, the capital of the greater Kaliṅga. The ruins of the ancient city have been partly carried away by the sea, partly buried in the sand. Some remains of the 2nd and 1st century B. C. have been discovered in the temple of Kurmeśvara and certain others at Mukhaliṅgam. The entire area is unexplored and very little attention has been paid to it by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Further south, the remains at Siṁhāchalam, Anakapalle and other places belong to the mediaeval period. Of places in the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā *Doāb* very little information exists. The only important places in the interior of the Southern part of Kaliṅga are the remains on the Mahendragiri hills, on which several temples and inscriptions are known to exist.

The general characteristics of the entire coast-land are somewhat different from those of the Southern portion of Bengal. The soil is either alluvial or a reddish laterite cut up by low hills, which yields a poor harvest even in the best

of seasons. Irrigation is possible on account of the existence of a number of big rivers and was used even in the 2nd century B. C. The lower parts of many great rivers intersect the coast-land and their Deltas spread fan-wise in the flat plains near the sea. Fishing and salt-making are the principal industries along the sea-coast, and both have sufferred materially during recent years on account of the competition of foreign salt and the dried fish trade of the Sunderbans.

Very little of the coast-land of Orissa was known to the ancients. Ptolemy mentions a number of places on the sea-coast of Orissa, but none of them can be identified on account of the changes of names, though abortive attempts have been made by many to do so. The northernmost point in Ptolemy's map identifiable at present is Maisolos[1], which is the same as modern Masulipatam and the ancient Musala-pattana, being the capital of the Mosalas or Musalas, a southern tribe who are classed with the Andhras in the Purāṇas.

Pliny's references to Kalinga are also very scanty. Kalinga is mentioned as the habitat of a people of the same name close to the sea. In the same passage are mentioned the Mandei and the Malli and the mountain Mallus but these three are stated to have been situated higher in the country.[2]

The people of Kalinga are mentioned along with the *Gandaridae* in the country which lies on the other side of

[1] *Ptolemy's India,* ed. Dr. S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, M. A. PH. D.

Natural History, Eng. Trans. by Philemon Holland, *London, 1634. p, 126. (Book VI, Chap. XVII)*

the Ganges[1]. Dantakura or Dandagula, which is mentioned in the Mahabharata occurs in Chap. XX. "From the mouth of the Ganges where he entereth into the sea unto the cape Caliugon (Calingon ?) and the town Dandagula are counted 725 miles[2]."

[1] *Natural History, Eng. Trans.* by Philemon Holland, *London 1634. Book VI. Chap. XIX p. 126.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 127*

CHAPTER II

PEOPLES, CASTES AND LANGUAGES

The population of the entire country is as varied as its topography. The majority of the people are Hindus, with the exception of the aboriginals, many of whom also are now approximating to the standard of the lowest class of Hindus of this province. Among the Hindus the principal caste is the Brāhmaṇa, and the different sects of Brāhmaṇas to be found in the three great divisions of the country are considerable. The highest class among these Brāhmaṇas are called *Śāsanī*, *i.e.*, those who had been honoured by past kings with grants of lands embodied in charters written on copper plates, *e.g.*, *Tāmra-śāsanas*. There are many other sub-divisions of Brāhmaṇas, some of which have emigrated into the country from countries outside Orissa. The records of their immigration, as found in many instances in these charters, show that throughout the mediaeval period Brāhmaṇas continued to pour into Orissa from different parts of Northern India. The oldest of such charters is the Ganjam plate of the Gupta year 300, which records the donation of the village of Chhavalakkhya in the Kṛishṇagiri district (*vishaya*) to a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *Gotra* by the feudatory chief Mādhavaraja II. In many of these charters of Orissa, described in the following pages, we find records of the migration of Brāhmaṇas from the Middle Country or *Madhya-deśa* or Kauśāmbi, *i.e.*, the ancient Vatsa country or the Southern part of the modern

district of Allahabad and even Varendrī or Northern Bengal. It is impossible to agree with Mr. Hira Lal in thinking that *Madhya-deśa* in such cases is the border districts between South-western Bengal and Northern Orissa.[1] Whatever may be the traditional value of the word *Madhya-deśa* in modern Orissa, nobody can deny that up to the Musalman conquest of Northern India, *Madhya-deśa* meant the central portion of the United Provinces. It appears, therefore, that from the beginning of the mediaeval period a constant train of Brāhmaṇas flowed into Orissa, as they did into Bengal. Outside the limits of Orissa proper, the accounts of the different classes of Brāhmaṇas is exceedingly interesting. For example, in the district of Sambalpur the Brāhmaṇas are subdivided into six classes, among which the Utkala Brāhmaṇas are regarded as the highest, as they are the most recent emigrants from Orissa. Next to them are the Jhāṛuās or Āraṇyakas, who are looked down upon by the Utkalas but claim to be the earliest immigrants from Orissa, who cleared the forests of Sambalpur and became its earliest settlers. The third class, the Raghunāthiās, are taken to be converts from the local tribes who were given the rank of Brāhmaṇas by the eponymous hero-god Rāmachandra when he was wandering in these forests. The Bhimgiriyās belong to the same class but say that one Rājā Raghunāth Deva of Hindol granted a charter to them giving five villages close to Bhimgiri mountain. They are also called Pañcha-śāsanis. The Raghunāthiyās and Bhimgiriyās are the lowest Brāhmaṇas in the Sambalpur district. The Hāluās and Sāruās are Brāhmaṇas but cultivators, who grow potatoes and arums. The Susāris are apparently a branch of the

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XVIII. p. 302.*

Jhāruās, and the term means a cook or a superintendent of stores and provisions. These Brāhmaṇas have become totemistic. The Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja *Gotra* worship the Blue Jay (*Bharadvāja*), those of the Parāśara *Gotra* worship the ordinary pigeon or *Pārā*. These superstitions may indicate aboriginal descent and consequent totemistic influence. Such characteristics are very rarely met with among Brahmaṇas in other parts of India.

The next important class may be called the *Rājanyas* in the absence of a better generic term. Most of the Indian chiefs and Zamindars now claim to be Kshatriyas or even Rajputs. In the majority of cases they are of mixed descent and their present rank or caste is due to their position. Thus the Gaṅgā-vamsa chiefs of the Bamra State are distinctly descended from the Eastern Gaṅgas, who claimed direct descent from the western Gaṅgas of Mysore. Intermarrying with them are a number of chiefs of Rajput descent calling themselves Rāthors and Pawars. Thus the Bhañja Rājās of Mayurbhañja informed the Government of Bengal in 1814 that they intermarry with the Rajas of Bissenpore, Kasurgur and Singbhum. Now the Rajas of Vishṇupur belong to the Nāgavaṁśī family, Kasurgadh claims Paramāra ancestry, while the Singhbhum chiefs say that they belong to the Rathor clan.[1] The so-called Nāgavaṁśī is not a Rajput but a chief of aboriginal descent ; such as the old chiefs of Bastar and the present chiefs of Khairagarh.[2]

1 *Twenty-five Questions Addressed to the Rajahs and Chiefs of the Regulation and Tributary Mehals by the Superintendent in 1914 reprinted Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1905, p. 13.*

2 *Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer, Bombay, 1909, pp. 36, 112.*

In the extreme south, the Zamindars of Vizianagram claim to be descended from a Rajput who came to the Vizagapatam district in 591 A. D., totally oblivious of the fact that the name Rajput had not come into existence before the twelfth or the thirteenth century A.D. The family tradition of the Chiefs of Vizianagram has preserved the name of one who is well known from epigraphical records. The records of this family mention one Mādhava as the Rajput who came from Northern India and founded this family in 591 A.D. A Chief named Mādhavavarman is known to have been ruling the Koṅgoda district or Central Orissa in 619 A.D., under Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, the adversary of Harshavardhana of Northern India. It is more probable that this Mādhava of 591 A.D., of Vizianagram tradition, is the same as Mādhavarāja II of the Śailodbhava dynasty; yet the craze for Rajput descent is so strong among the chiefs of India, many of whom are descended from kings belonging to families which were regarded as very old at a time when the Rajput was a barbarian, that the Vizianagram chief still persists in claiming Rajput ancestry.

A careful consideration of the data available at the present date would tend to prove that the majority of the chiefs of Kaliṅga or Modern Orissa and Teliṅganā are of indigenous descent.

In Northern Orissa a multitude of sub-castes follow the Rājanyas, and it is extremely difficult to locate them in any order of sequence; for example, in the Balasore district there were 2,10,000 Khaṇḍāits, forming about 20 per cent. of the population of this district. They are generally taken to be the descendants of the feudal militia of the Hindu Rājās of Orissa. But beyond this nothing is known of this

caste and no attempt has ever been made to connect them with any of the three lower Varṇas of the original Indo-Aryan castes. The Khaṇḍāits form a very large percentage of the population of other districts of Orissa also. There are 3,75,000 Khaṇḍāits in Cuttack but very few in the Puri district. The distinction between the Khaṇḍāits and the cultivator class or Chasās (locally pronounced *Tasā*) is really very little. Both the Khaṇḍāit and the Tasā are at present cultivators. To the south of the Chilka Lake these castes disappear and their place is taken by others who are practically unknown in Northern Orissa. Among other castes of Northern Orissa must be mentioned the Gauṛās or milkmen and Goḷās or cultivators. The Gaṻṛās are to be found in the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam. The writer caste, Bhoi or Karan, is very insignificant from the point of view of numbers, but they are to be found in the Bengal district of Midnapur also. The remaining castes of Cuttack are the Kāndrās and the Pāns who are also to be found in Balasore and Ganjam districts. The Pāns are an aboriginal race who at one time ruled over some part of Orissa. They are, at present, regarded as untouchables.

South of the Chilka the Telugu speaking population is divided into two major heads, the Kapus or cultivators and the Kāliṅgīs or the ancient people of Kaliṅga, a caste to be found in the Ganjam district only. In the Vizagapatam district the principal castes are Kapus, Velamas and the Telagas who are all cultivators and traders. Along the Eastern Ghats many castes are more or less named after the aboriginal tribes, such as the Khoṇḍs and Śavaras of the Purī, Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. The majority of

them live in the uncultivable hill tracts and speak some dialect of the Oṛiyā language even in the Vizagapatam district. The Western part of Northern Orissa, called Garhjats, contains a very large and varied aboriginal population, such as Bhuiyās, Binjhals, Bhumijes, Goṇḍs, Hos, Juangs, Khariās Khoṇḍs, Koras, Oraons, Santals Śavaras and Sudhās. The languages spoken by them are either Muṇḍārī or the language of Santals, or Dravidian, such as the language of the Goṇḍs and Oraons, or Oriya, which is a sort of *lingua franca* among the hill tribes. The Bhuiyās are scattered among the ·hill States from Mayurbhañja in the north to Patna in the south. They live in the wild highlands of the inaccessible hill ranges, and are very strong in the Keunjhar State. They possess the right of installing the Chiefs, which is also claimed in the Bonai State. They have lost their original language and now speak Oṛiyā. Next to them are the Juāngs, who are perhaps the most primitive among the aboriginal castes of Orissa. They were very probably ousted from the valleys by the Bhuiyās and now live on steep hill-sides. They are supposed to have used "shouldered" stone axes only a few centuries ago and live in very small huts. They speak a Muṇḍārī dialect and are a very small race. The Juāngs are closely allied to the Khariās, another small tribe, living in the feudatory states of Orissa. According to tradition the Khariās and the Purāṇs of Mayurbhañja were produced like the Bhañja kings from the egg of a pea-fowl. It is stated that the Bhañja kings were produced from the yolk, the Purāṇs from the white and the Khaṛiās from the shell of the egg. One of the most important aboriginal tribes of Orissa are the Khoṇḍs; they are very prominent from

the State of Kālāhāṇḍi in the Central Garhjats to the extreme west of the Vizagapatam district. They also call themselves Kui or Koi. In Madras they are called Koṇḍs. They were formerly addicted to human sacrifices and infanticide. After the Kondhs or Khoṇḍs are the Śavaras or Sāorās. In the Aitareya *Brāhmaṇa* the Śavaras are regarded to be the descendants of the sons of Viśvāmitra, who were cursed by their father to become impure. The Rāmāyaṇa states that they were met by Rāma in Central India. A pious Śavara woman met him near some lake. The Śavaras are mentioned in the Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata as practising some wicked customs along with *Dasyus*. In the *Purāṇas*, the Śavaras are called *Vindhya-maulikas*. They are mentioned by Pliny as Suari and by Ptolemy as the Savarai. The chiefs of the Śavara tribes are mentioned in many historical records. In historical times they are mentioned in the Udayendiram plates of the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla who is said to have defeated the Śavara king Udayana and the Nishāda chief Pṛithivī-vyāghra.[1] They are also known from the Sanskrit and Kanarese *praśasti* of the Western Gaṅga Chief Mārasiṁha II, who was a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and placed Indra IV on the throne. This *Praśasti*, which is at Śravaṇa Belgoḷā in the Hasan district of the Mysore State, mentions that Mārasiṁha II (963-74 A. D.) defeated a Śavara Chief named Naraga.[2] They are mentioned in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa and

1 *South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 365. No. 74; Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII, 1879, pp. 275-76.*

2 *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V. p. 176.*

the *Gauḍa-vāho* of Vākpatirāja. Their language belongs to the Muṇḍā or Kolian group and has been described with the dialects spoken by the Juāngs as Kherwari by Sir George Grierson.[1] The modern Śavaras show remarkable engineering skill in the construction of their fields on the hill-side and their houses. They are ruled by *Bissoyis*, (Sankrit *Vishayin*), who were originally feudatory chiefs. The Śavaras are divided into two main groups : (a) the hill Śavaras and (b) the Śavaras of the low country. Hill Śavaras are sub-divided into as many as six tribes: (i) Jāti or Māliyā Śavara, (ii) Ārisi or Lombo Lāñjiya, which means long tailed monkeys, :(iii) Luārā or Muli, who are workers in iron, (iv) Kiṇḍals or basket makers, (v) Kumbi or potters, (vi) Jādu, a little known tribe beyond Kollakoṭa and Puttasingi. The Śavaras of the low country are divided into two tribes : (a) Kāpu or cultivators and (b) Suddho or good. The Kāpu Śavaras still retain many of the customs of the Hill Śavaras but the Suddhos have become Hindus and adopted the Oṛiyā language. The Śavara is as fair as the Oriya and therefore much fairer than the black Telugus of the plains. He is shorter than other hill people and distinctly Mongolian in features. Their Headmen are called Gomongo and Boya.[2] The Śavaras of the present day are widely known in Orissa and Madras as adepts in magic and witchcraft, and these are called *Śavarī vidyā* in Orissa. According to tradition the images originally enshrined in the temple of Purushottama at Puri were worshipped by Śavaras in the hill tracts of Orissa. Many people believe that a section of the *Sevāyatas* or

1 *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, 1906, p.* 209.

2 E. Thurston—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. VI, pp. 304-47*

servants of the temple of Purushottama originated from the Śavaras. But the term Suara or Suira can also be derived from *Sūpakāra*, "a cook." In Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* the Śavaras are mentioned with the Oḍras and are stated to have been charcoal-burners. According to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, "all the Kolarians are but branches of the Śavara people."[1] In medieaval times the Śavaras have been driven out from Central India proper into the inhospitable regions along the crest of the Eastern Ghats. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar also supposes that the Binjhals of Sambalpur are descendant of Śavaras.

The Bhuiyāns of Bihar and Orissa were pushed by the Hos to Northern Orissa. At present they stretch in a line from the State of Nilgiri to that of Gangpur. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar is inclined to connect the Bhuiyāns with the Bhumijes.[2] He is also inclined to think that the Bhañja kings of old epigraphic records "were not in those days far above the social influence of the Kols, because a princess of the Bhañja house once fell in love with a genuine Muṇḍā."[3] There are many instances of ladies of Indian royal families falling in love with their slaves or servants. If Kamalādevī of the Chālukya dynasty of Gujarat fell in love with her captor, Alāuddīn Muḥammad Shāh Khaljī, will it prove that the Baghelas were in the habit of inter-marrying with Musalmans? Such methods of argument are incomprehensible. Beyond the similarity in names

[1] *The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India, University of Calcutta, 1927, p. 13.*

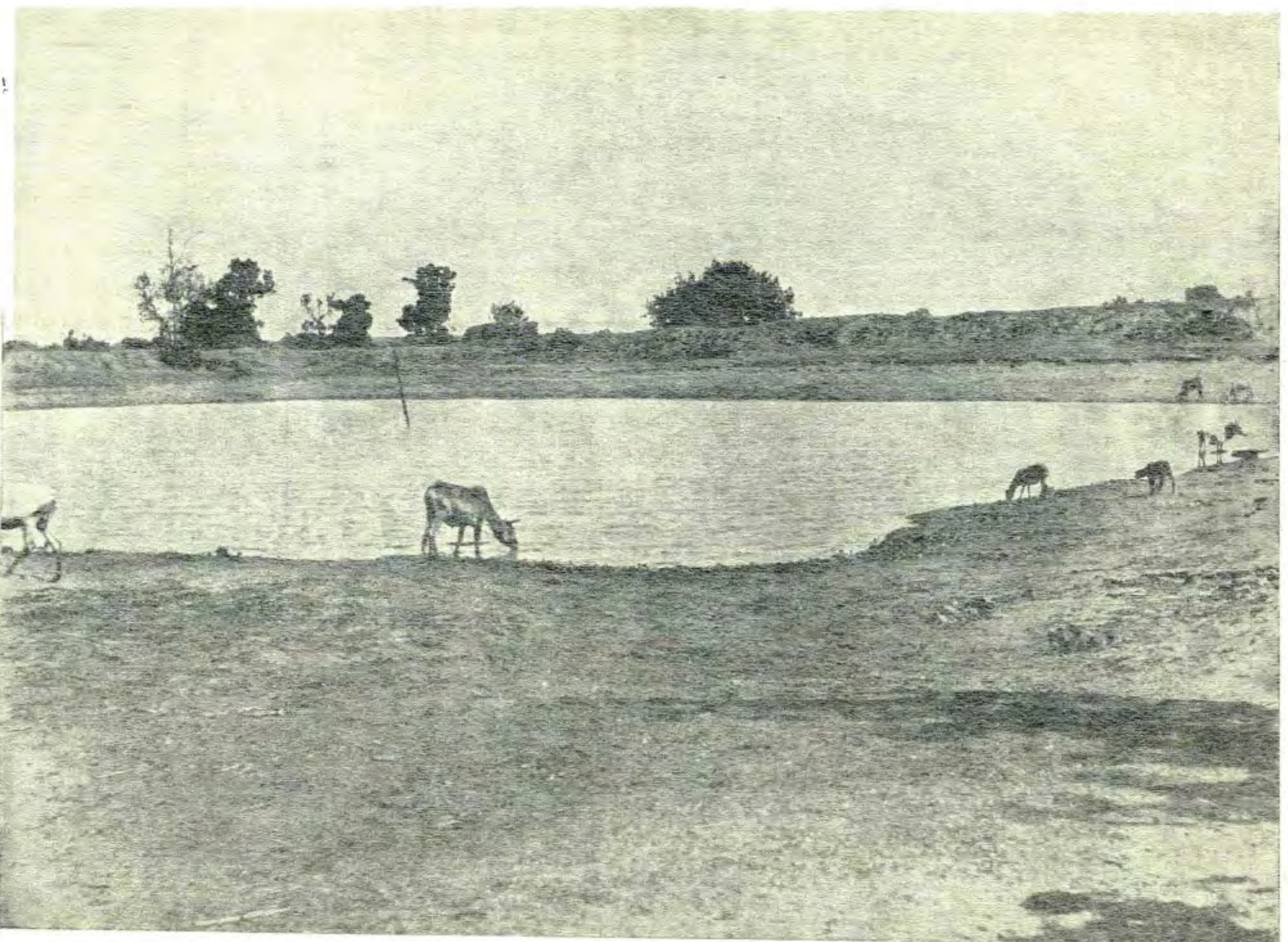
[2] *Ibid., p. 26.*

[3] *Ibid., p. 36.*

there is no other similarity, not even of language, between the Bhuiyāns and Bhumijes and the idea of social intercourse between the Bhañja kings and the Muṇḍās is as absurd as such analytic and synthetic methods.

The Binjhals and Khoṇḍs inhabit the South-western parts of the Sambalpur district. They are also called Binjhwārs and their tradition prove that they have some remembrance of their migration to the east. The Binjhal chiefs of Borasambar still possess the right of affixing the royal mark or Ṭikā to the fore-head of each chief of Patna at the time of his coronation. They are fast becoming Hindus and the great majority of them are cultivators. Like all aboriginal people they eat almost anything except cows, crocodiles, lizards and jackals.

The Gaṇḍās are an untouchable caste in the Sambalpur district, one section of which is called Pān, showing that they are of the same class as the Pāns or the Pānos of other districts. They eat beef and carrion. Among the aboriginal people the Goṇḍs are one of the principal tribes and they differ widely from the Kolian tribes in their language, which is Dravidian like those of the Orāons. They inhabit the Central Provinces chiefly, but are also to be found on the Eastern Ghats. They are of small stature and dark in colour. They are stoutly built but extremely ugly, as they have round heads, wide nostrils and mouths, thick lips, straight black hair and very scanty beards and moustaches. Goṇḍs are generally divided into two classes : (A) The Rāj Goṇḍs and (B) the ordinary Goṇḍs. The Rāj Goṇḍs are aristocrats and have become Hindus and wear the sacred thread. One family of Rāj Goṇḍ chiefs even became Musalman to save their kingdom. The ordinary Goṇḍs



Prehistoric Site at Mayurbhanj

are called *Dhur-Goṇḍs* or "Dust Gonds". They used to eat beef until recently.

The Bhuiyāns live in the wild highlands of the inaccessible hill ranges of the State of Bonai, Pal Lahara, Keonjhar. The Bhuiyān is a short man with a round face, thick lips, narrow forehead and high cheek-bones. In colour they are tawny to light brown. They are divided into four sects or clans: The Māl or Desh, the Rājkuli, the Rāutāli and Pabana-aṅśa. Their villages are mostly situated at the foot of hills covered with wood and at the side of hill streams.

All over Orissa there are numerous castes which cannot be connected with the castes of other districts, while some are common to all districts of Northern Orissa. The Gauṛās and Telis are common but the Kulta or Kolita are the chief cultivating class of Sambalpur. According to their own tradition they immigrated from the State of Baudh and their ancestors were water-carriers in the household of Rāmachandra. The Kultas, Sudhs and Dumals will take food together at the time of festivals. The Kewats are fishermen and boatmen and are to be found in most of the districts of Northern Orissa. The Bankas are a small caste found principally in the Kālāhāṇḍi State. They consist of people of all castes from the Brāhmaṇa to the Kumhār and even the Marāṭha and became mixed together in military service. They are still permitted to carry a sword or a big knife without a license inside the State. The Bhulia is weaver by caste, also known as Bholia, Bhoriya, Bholwa, Mihir and Meher. They talk Hindi among themselves and are supposed to have immigrated to Orissa with the first Chauhan Chief of the Patna State. The Dumals are a sub-caste of the Gauṛā or

Āhir, but they have no connection with them at present. The Ghāsis are a very low caste who are said to have immigrated from Mayurbhañja. They are more common in the Gangpur State. They act as sweepers and grass-cutters and will eat swine and cattle. They are taken to belong to the Kāruā sub-caste of the Hāṛis. The Hāṛis or Hāḍis are a caste common to Western Bengal and Northern Orissa. According to their tradition, they were created after the four *Varṇas* by Brahmā from the dust of his arm. The Karans or Mahāntis of Orissa are said to correspond to the Kāyasthas of Bengal or the United Provinces. They are a fairly industrious and influential caste in Orissa. The Paiks of Orissa are the descendants of the ancient feudal militia of Orissa who were disbanded after the British conquest. They are generally regarded as being equal to the Chasā in social rank. They contain people of all castes, including Kīndras, Pāns, Bāuris, Khoṇḍs and even Musalmans and Telugus. They were originally paid from *Chākrān* or service-land. The Sudhās are another military caste who were formerly musketeers and therefore worship the gun. They are divided into four sub-castes : (1) the Barā or High Sudhās, (2) the Dehri or worshippers, (3) the Kabāṭkoniās or those holding the corners of the gate and (4) Butkā or forest Sudhās. According to their tradition they were descended from Ghaṭotkacha, the son of Bhīma and the she-demon Hiḍimbā. The Sansis are a caste of masons and navvies. They are really a branch ot the great migratory Uḍ or Odde caste, who are weight-carriers all over India and are also found in Sindh. They enjoy a high position and are usually stone-workers and tank-diggers in Orissa. In the plains districts of Puri and Cuttack there

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are a few low castes who are either aboriginals or immigrants. The Malangis are salt manufacturers and live on sea-fish and a little rice they grow during the rains. The Nuḷiās or sea-fishermen of Puri speak Telugu and are recent immigrants from the South.

In the Vizagapatam district, a peculiar caste is the Golla, a pastoral caste like the Gauṛās of Northern Orissa. They are said to be descended from Kṛishṇa himself and their social status is fairly high. They are distributed all over the Telugu country and contain many different sub-divisions. They are Vaishṇavas and Śaivas, but eat meat. The Gavaras are cultivators of this district and are seldom to be found anywhere else. They state that they have migrated from Veṅgī. They speak Telugu and are either Vaishṇavas or Śaivas. The Vaishṇavas are burnt and pay special reverence to Purushottama or Jagannātha of Puri. The Śaivas are buried in a sitting posture. The Yātās are toddy-drawers, corresponding to the Pāsis of Bihar and the United Provinces. They are to be found in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. They are a criminal tribe and speak Telugu. Their headmen are called Kulampedda.

CHAPTER III

PRE-HISTORIC ANTIQUITIES

Like all provinces of India where the hills approach or extend as far as the sea, Orissa, with its three great divisions, can boast of the oldest relics of human habitation. In the hilly tracts to the west of the flat coast-land of Orissa the oldest stone implements have been discovered. So many as four were described by Coggin Brown, of which two can still be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. V. Ball discovered all of them and described their find-spots more than half a century ago. These four specimens were found in the Garhjat states of Dhenkenal, Angul and Talcher and one in the British district of Sambalpur. The following notes are reproduced from Ball's articles on stone implements from Orissa :—

"*Dhenkenal*: The specimen from this locality is very rudely formed and has the point broken off by recent fracture. It was found together with the debris from a laterite conglomerate; and from the fragment of ferruginous matrix still attached to its surface there can, I think, be little doubt that it was at one time imbedded in the laterite. The material is an opaque, slightly granular quartzite. *Angul* This specimen was found in the bed of a stream near the village of Kaliakota. Its shape is broad oval, unusal. The material is a vitreous quartzite. *Talcher*: This specimen was found on the surface near Huri Chandpur. It is the best formed of the series. The material is a vitreous quartzite not improbably derived from a vein,



Paleolithic Implements found in Orissa

Sambalpur: This specimen was found near Bursapali to the north of the well-known village of Kudderbuga. It has a pointed wedge shape. The material is a vitreous quartzite."[1]

In a paper read before the Irish Academy Ball pointed out the striking similarity which exists between the Bengal and Orissa forms and those from the Madras Presidency, and concluded by showing that there is a resemblance, both in the form of the palæolithic implements from Bengal and Madras, and their material. His legitimate conclusion was that there is a definite connection between the peoples who manufactured these implements in Orissa and Madras. In the case of the Orissa specimens, they were picked up at places far away from their nearest possible sources of origin. Two of the Orissa specimens are in the Indian Museum at Calcutta:—

"53. Boucher, elongated oval, pebble butt broken point; light tinted quartzite. Dhenkenal. Orissa. V. B.

54. Palæolith, flat, discoid, worked edge; brown-tinted quartzite. Angul. Orissa. V.B."[2]

J. Coggin Brown has made it sufficiently clear that with our present state of knowledge it is clearly impossible to divide the Pleistocene period into shorter stages. The division of European Palæoliths into clearly divided chronological periods is not yet possible in India, though some Indian scholars have attempted it.[3] Until excavacations are carried out in rock shelters or river beds, it will not be possible to identify the industrial remains left by the

1 *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1876, pp. 122-3.*

2 *Catalogue of Pre-Historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum, Simla, 1917, p. 68.*

3 P. Mitra—*Pre-Historic India,* 2nd. Ed., Calcutta 1927, *pp.* 146-262.

races which inhabited India in the earlier days of human history with similar types discovered in other countries of the world. It cannot be decided at present whether the strata in Indian Pre-historic culture correspond to the stages already recognised in Europe. "Indian Palæoliths are massive rock fragments in the vast majority of cases composed of quartzite, chipped into cliving, smiting and perhaps digging implements, exactlv resembling the early stone age implements, found in Northern and Southern America, Central Africa, and in Europe." [1] Bruce Foote was of opinion that Indian Palæoliths could be divided into ten distinct classes but Brown prefers to recognise three broad classes only "*Bouchers*, which correspond to the English 'celt' and the French 'coup de poing' or 'hache a talon'; *palæoliths*, in which I include the axe and cleaver-like forms including the 'Madras' and 'Guillotine' types ; and *discoid* forms."

"In appearance these types approach nearest to those from the *Chellean* and *Acheulean* periods of Europe."

The Palæoliths of India have been discovered in high level gravels or older alluvium of rivers and in certain cases of lakes as well as in the higher level lateritic formation of the Coromandel Coasts. The Palæoliths discovered in Orissa are so few that no definite statement can be based on them regarding the palæolithic culture of the province. It is clear from the material, a vitreous quartzite, that they belong to the great Deccan series and the people who used them were probably a part of the race who inhabited the Deccan plateau. Brown thinks that "the formation of the gravels in which these implements were discovered may

[1] *Catalogue of Pre-Historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum, p. 1.*

have commenced some 400,000 years ago."[1] No human remains associated with palæolithic stone implements or potteries or paintings have been discovered in India. They are certainly unknown in Orissa and therefore it would be clearly unscientific to connect Orissan Palæoliths with any of the rockpaintings discovered in the neighourhood of that province, *e.g.*, those from Singanpur.

According to geologists, there is a great interval between the Palæolithic period and the Neolithic in India. Foote saw that Palæoliths were found in the bed of the Sabarmati in Gujarat in a bed of coarse shingle and the Neoliths are found about 250 feet above that level on high level loess. While Palæoliths are found for the most part on the Deccan plateau, Neoliths are discovered over a much wider range. In the Neolithic period the types of stone implements are very large in number. No information has yet forth-come about Palæoliths discovered in the country between the Chilka lake and the mouth of the Kṛishṇā, save a single Palæolith now in the Madras Museum, which was found near Ostapalle in the Kṛishṇā district.[2]

Practically no information exists about Neoliths discovered of any part of Orissa save and except the recent find of "shouldered" axes found in the hill district of the Mayurbhañja State. The Indian Museum, Calcutta and Central Museum, Madras, contain the best collection of Prehistoric Antiquities of this country, but none of them contain a single Neolith which can be definitely regarded as belonging to any part of Northern, Central, or Southern

[1] *Ibid., p. 2.*

[2] *No. 2617—Indian Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Antiquities, Catalogue Raisonne, Madras, 1914, p. 172.*

Orissa, including the districts of Vizagapatam, Godāvarī and Kṛishṇa.

The recent discoveries in the Mayurbhañja State are of very great interest, as the implements discovered are "shouldered." Neoliths are generally divided into two classes: (1) unpolished and (2) polished. "Shouldered" axes or adzes belong to the latter class, but they represent a special sub-division of polished Neoliths. The shouldered implements were first described by Prof. Hem Chandra Das Gupta, M.A., F.G.S., of the Presidency College, Calcutta, who remarked: "The *occurrance of these two implements* of the Burmese type, in areas through which the wave of Khasia immigration very likely passed, before the race found its present hilly home, is of extreme interest and is quite in conformity with the view so long held regarding a relationship between the Khasia of Assam and some of the older tribes of Burma, which has been based chiefly on linguistic grounds."[1] This observation of Prof. Hem Chandra Das Gupta is quite in accordance with the classification of Austric languages by Peder W. Schimdt, according to whom there are two groups of Kolian languages in India in the first of which should be included Sāntāli, Muṇḍā, etc., but in the second group are to be placed Khāsiā and Nicobarese and certain languages of Burma and Further India. Indian Neoliths are thus capable of being associated with certain language complexes ; the earlier or the Kolian group with polished and non-polished but unshouldered axes and adzes, and the second or the Khasia-Nicobarese group with the shouldered axes and adzes. This association

[1] *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IX, 1913, pp. 291-3.*



Neolithic Implements found in Orissa

further proves that the Austric immigrants came in two main waves, the first of which spread as far north as Kashmir, the Himalayan Valleys and the water-sheds of the Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra as far south as the southern-most extremity of the Indian Peninsula, but not to the south of Kāverī.[1] The second wave was mainly confined to North-eastern India, Burma and the Malay Peninsula. Coggin Brown says :—

"It seems difficult to imagine what differring condition could have obtained during the savage infancy of our race in Burma, greater than that which existed between India and Europe ; yet directly we cross from India, properly so called, to the country lying to the eastward of the Bay of Bengal, we find stone implements not less abundant than elsewhere ; but of an entirely different type. We no longer find the familiar Indo-European type, either Palæolithic or Neolithic, but one seemingly autochthonous to the Malayan countries, and both in size, shape, and design displaying considerable divergence from any of the ordinary types of weapons found elsewhere.

"The main points of divergence are :—1st, the frequency of forms possessing 'shoulders,' a peculiarity quite confined to articles from the Burmese or Malayan area; 2nd, the cutting edge being usually formed by grinding down on one side, as chisel and not an axe ; 3rd, the general small size and seeming inefficiency for any rough purpose, though it must be remarked that very small and well-fashioned weapons are also found in India."[2]

The earliest shouldered weapons was discovered by

1 *Catalogue of Pre-Historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum, p. 3.*

2 *Ibid., p. 134.*

V. Ball in Dhalbhum in 1875.[1] The discovery of shouldered axes and adzes in Mayurbhañja proves that the hilly tracts of Northern Orissa were included within the zone of influence and area of migration of the second group of Austric races.

In other departments of Neolithic culture, Orissa is very poor and though all the Garhjat States are rich in Neolithic remains, no attention has been paid to this subject by the chiefs of the State except that of Mayurbhañja. The important subject of Neolithic Ceramics has been generally neglected by Archæologists in India, and pointed attention was drawn to the subject after my discovery of painted pottery along with Cherts and Cores and Pictogrammatic seals at Mohen-jo-daro in the Larkana district ot Sindh in December, 1922. Previous to that date the only careful observer of Neolithic culture in India was the late R. Bruce Foote, whose notes on this subject in his catalogue of the Madras Museum are replete with information. But the absence of interest in the Neolithic period of a very backward province like Orissa has prevented its wealth of resources from being systematically explored. On the important subject of Neolithic Culture in Orissa there is nothing very particular to say at the present moment. There is not a single Neolith in the Madras Central Museum from the northern districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godāvarī. In the important collection of Neoliths in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is not a single specimen which J. Coggin Brown could refer to any of the districts of the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, from Balasore or Medinipur to the Kṛishṇa-Godāvari *Doab*. The occurance of Megalithic tombs or burial urns in Ancient Orissa

[1] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, pp. 118-22*

is still problematical and no information exists with regard to them. So also in the case of the Sub-Neolithic phase or Chalcolithic Culture Orissa is still a closed book to us. The very great interest recently aroused among Archæologists all over the world by my discovery of one of the oldest Chalcolithic Cultures at Mohen-jo-daro almost loses its significance when we come to Orissa. Yet the neighbouring country abounds in specimens of the Copper age. The country to the south of the Narmadā is generally regarded as having passed from the sub-Neolithic phase to the Halstatt Age but in Orissa we find a regular age of copper intervening between the Neolithic and Iron ages.

There are at least three different sites in the Mayurbhañja State where Neoliths have been discovered in recent times. Two of these lie to the west of the Bāngidiposi hills and are therefore connected with Ranchi-Hazaribagh-Singbhum series. The only record of Neoliths in this particular area appeared in the newspaper some time ago when it was stated that on account of the erosion of the banks of the river Vaitaraṇī near Khiching a number of neoliths have been discovered ; but no trained Archæologist has visited this area nor have these implements been examined or described by any competent authority. On the road from Baripada to Bisai (32 miles) the Bāngidiposi is crossed after the 32nd mile. This road goes straight to Rairangpur on the Tatanagar-Badampahar branch of the B. N. Railway. Another road from Bisai branches to the south-west and reaches Karanja 75 miles from Baripada. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B. Sc., Senior State Archæological scholar of the Mayurbhañja State pointed out some excavactions for road repairs on the section between Manada and Jasipur where

neoliths were discovered about two to three feet below the surface. According to Mr. Acharya these neoliths consist of rough cherts or scrapers and celts or bouchers of the same type as those discovered subsequently at Baidyapur. Nobody well-versed in prehistoric archæology has yet seen or described the prehistoric discovered on the Manada-Jasipur road or those revealed by the erosion on the bank the Vaitaraṇī.

The village of Baidyapur lies on the eastern slope of some high ground to the south of the river Bura Balang. It lies fourteen miles by road from Baripada but only ten miles as the crow flies, as the eastern edge of the Simlipal range intervenes between it and the town. The village of Baidyapur is very small and consists of a single straight street which ends in an open space. Towards the east of the road, in the open space, there is a tank about 500 yards at the end of the village. There is also a mud pool on the northern side of the eastern end of the village street in which also some neoliths were found. The tank to the east of the village road is about 200 feet square and was recently re-excavated. The first discovery of neoliths in Orissa was made here at that time. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, who is an inhabitant of this place, informs me that neoliths are being discovered in this village from time immemorial and whenever the villagers excavate earth or dig deep in the corn-fields around they discover neoliths. The village stands on the sloping ground between the mound on the west and the tank to the east. The top of the mound is formed of conglomerate or *kankar* which is still in the process of growth. But the slope has accumulated either alluvium or vegetable mould during the passage

of years and cultivation is possible where this mould is of sufficient thickness. On the south of the village as well in the east there are corn-fields, where, according to Mr. Acharya and his co-villagers,—stone implements are always found at a depth of two to three feet. The actual stratification could be studied with great advantage on the southern bank of the tank. Here below the bund formed during re-excavation we found the bottom of the vegetable mould which is about two to three feet in thickness. Below this comes the disturbed conglomerate of the same type as that to be found on the top of the high mound to the west of the village. It is disturbed and mixed with small boulders, most probably from river beds, the action of the current having rounded off the sharp edges. At this place, the villagers excavate for fresh earth and come upon all sorts of stone implements and pot-sherds. A few minutes excavation brought to light a distinct palæolithic boucher of the Acheulian type with two distinct ridges and edges formed by chipping. At the same time and within twelve inches from the find spot of the boucher, we came across a thin fragment of black Flint which being provided with a cutting edge and the other side being blunt and thick must be a palæolithic scraper if not an Eolith. The villagers brought to me many of these implements, one of which, a distinctly palæolithic bar-celt, was in the possession of an uncle of Mr. Paramananda Acharya and was found only two or three days ago. It is 6.9-16 inch in height $2^3/_4$ inch broad at the base and only $1^1/_2$ inch at the top. The collection originally brought from Baidyapur to the Indian Museum by Mr. Paramananda Acharya for the examination of Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B.,

has not been either classified or described as yet. Among them I found two distinct palæoliths, one of which is of the bar-celt type the cutting edge of which has very nearly disappeared. It is not a carefully made implement though it measures 4.4 inch in length and its average breadth is 1.6. The other palæolith is distinctly of the shape of a celt or boucher which was manufactured from a fragment peeled off from a polished surface. The edges were made sharp by chipping, though the cutting edge is no longer sharp. The specimen measures 4.3 inches in height, 2.7 in breadth at the base and only 1.5 at the top. Another neat little scraper, distinctly palæolithic in type, was given to me by the uncle of Mr. P. Acharya. It is about two inches in height and possesses a sharp cutting age on one side.

The most important feature of the Baidyapur finds is the association of palæoliths with neoliths in the same area. The previous finds brought by Mr. Acharya to the Indian Museum contain one large axe with a distinct cutting edge one side of which is raised into a distinct ridge. It measures 4·5 inches in height ; the cutting edge is also 4 inches broad, while the top is only 2 inches. It is difficult to say whether it is a palæolith or a neolith as it was manufactured with a few deft strokes and did not require any clumsy chipping. The neolithic series begins with a short narrow boucher with a beautifully rounded cutting edge measuring 4.1 inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The cutting edge and the portion adjoining it are smoothed by rubbing but the portion above that shows signs of chipping. The remaining neoliths show a distinct polish in addition to smoothing. They are for the most part small celts or bouchers in which all traces of chipping appear to have been carefully removed.

The polish is less distinct on the smooth surface of a celt 2.8 inches in height and 1.8 inch in breadth. The cutting edge is slightly rounded and the surface of the celt shows signs of weathering. In the second specimen the cutting edge is perfectly straight, a characteristic very rare in Indian neoliths. It measures 2.8 inches in height and 1.8 inch in breadth at the bottom. The specimen is sufficiently polished to reflect light. The polish on the third specimen, a small adze, is distinctly bright. It measures 2.6 inches in height, 1.9 inch at the base and 1.1 inch at the top. The cutting edge is distinctly curved and, being a true adze, one side of it is much more convex than the other. The next specimen is a celt or a chisel. It is highly polished and almost an isosceles triangle in shape. The greatest height is 3.2 inches and the cutting edge, though slightly rounded, is exactly 1.5 inches in breadth. This particular implement must have been used either as a chisel or a wedge. Its discovery along with older palæoliths and neolithic pottery prove that the entire site was inhabited for centuries throughout the palæolithic and neolithic periods. Exactly of the same type is the most important find of the Baidyapur series, a shouldered adze of high polish[1]. It links the Central Indian neoliths with the series from the Khasia hills and proves that neolithic culture in Orissa must also be divided into two different series connected with two different and long separated waves of Austric immigration into India from the East. The polish is quite distinctive of its own and is of the same type as that of the chisel celt described above. Though the cutting edge is broken the contour shows

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological survey of India, 1923-24, pp. 100-101.*

distinctly that it was an adze and not an axe, as one side is perfectly straight. The specimen measures 4 inches in height and 2 inches in breadth. Out of this height the shouldering is 1.2 and therefore only 2.8 was available for the cutting edge.

The finds from Baidyapur include a new class of neolithic implements, which look like corn-crushers to me but which Prof. Hem Chandra Das Gupta of the Presidency College trusts to be hammers. They are small truncated cones or pyramids in shape, very often with polished sides. The oldest of them is broken at top and bottom but its sides are polished. It measures 3.5 inches in height. The next one is the largest and looks like a regular pestle. The base is convex in shape and both the top and the bottom are blunt. The height is 4.7 inches and the width at the base 2.5 inches. The majority of the implements have straight sides and therefore a rectilinear base. They have pointed tops if they are well preserved. Prof. Das Gupta is of opinion that these sharper points were used for hafting. The height of one specimen is 4.5 inches and the width at the base 1.7. All four sides of this specimen are perfectly straight and polished. The next specimen is of the same kind, though less well preserved. It is 4 inches in height, 1.9 at the base and 1.8 inch on the sides. In this case the top and the bottom are both broken.

The importance of the great neolithic site at Baidyapur lies in its association with early pre-historic pottery. I am not aware of any other pre-historic site in Northern India in which pottery was found along with pre-historic stone implements except Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa. Pottery fragments were discovered in the excavations on the

southern side of the tank along with these stone implements and hundreds of them have been recovered by Mr. Paramananda Acharya for the Indian Museum at Calcutta. I selected two particularly thick specimens from a spot about a foot below the place where the polished axe or celt was found. The material is a coarse mould in which rounded pebbles of limestone were fairly abundant. On breaking one of the pottery fragments it was found that the wet material had not been passed through a sieve or even carefully selected. The vessel appears to have been hand-made or at the best turned on a hand-lathe. The next specimen was also of the same type and the material is so coarse that it looks like a fragment of a brick at the first sight. Certain specimens are thin and I selected one other fragment in which there is a fine red slip on the vase, which possessed a carinated mouth and looked very probably like a cooking vessel. Many such fragments covered with a red slip has been collected by Mr. Acharya for the Calcutta Museum. The shape is not new and exactly similar round specimens were discovered by me at Mohen-jo-daro and by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy in the Ranchi district. The importance of the neolithic site of Baidyapur cannot be underestimated and a regular excavation may bring to light untold wealth of antiquities which may enable somebody to complete the history of the neolithic culture in India, only the latter part of which is known to us from the excavations of Mohen-jo-daro.

That there was a distinct Copper age in the pre-historic period of the history of Orissa is proved by the discovery of stray specimens all over the country. The oldest specimen discovered is that on which a grant of the emperor

Purushottama (1470-97) of the Sūrya Vaṁśa dynasty was discovered in the Balasore district. This implement is a shouldered axe in the possession of the Bhuiyans of Garhpada about 15 miles north of Balasore. Evidently, at the time of the incision of the record the people of Orissa had no idea about its original function because the writing begins near the cutting edge[1]. The next discovery of copper implements was made near Sildah in the parganah of Jhatibani in the Medinipur district. The area in which this implement was discovered certainly belongs to the northern part of Orissa and was transferred along with the modern district of Medinipur to the *Ṣūbah* of Bengal during the rule of Nawāb Nāẓim Murshid Qulī Khān I.[2] It is a battle axe of the same type as those discovered at Pachamba in the Hazaribagh district, having a large round cutting edge ending in two well-marked shoulders. It is of the same type as the inscribed copper celt from Balasore. The village of Tamajuri is very near the site where the specimen was discovered.[3] The most recent discoveries were recorded in 1916. Several copper axes were discovered at the village of Bhagra Pir on the banks of the Gulpha river in the Mayurbhañj State. The shape of these axes is extraordinary. They are very thin and in addition to the cutting edge, which is larger than a semicircle, there is another semicircular projection on the top, which is connected with the former by a narrow neck. The largest specimen measures $18^1/_2$ inches in length and $15^3/_4$ inches in breadth, the

[1] *Ind., Ant., Vol. I, 1872, pp. 355-6 and plate.*

[2] *See poste Chap. XX.* Chapter on Surya vaṁśa Dynasty.

[3] *Brown-Catalague of pre-historic antiquities in the Indian Museum, p. 142.*

second one 10 inches by $8^1/_2$ inches and the third one $10^1/_2$ inches by 7 inches. According to Mr. C. T. Trechmann they are of an extraordinary thinness. The Mayurabhañj axes were certainly battle axes but of a particularly different type.[1]

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 386-7, Figs. 1-3.*

CHAPTER IV

KALIṄGA, OḌRA AND UTKALA IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

The ancient history of Kaliṅga and Utkala begins, like that of all other provinces of ancient and mediæval India, with the references to it in Vedic and Epic literature. In the period of the earliest strata in the Vedic literature there is no reference to Kaliṅga, Utkala or Oḍra. It is in the second stage, the Brāhmaṇa period, that Kaliṅga, perhaps, makes its appearance for the first time on the stage of our political history. The earliest reference to Kaliṅga is perhaps to be found in the Aitareya *Brāhmaṇa*, though the statement is extremely doubtful. The first specific reference to this country, kingdom or nation is to be found in the Great Epic, *Mahābhārata*, as well as in the dynastic lists of Vedic kings as preserved in the *Vaṁś-ānucharitas*. Though incorporated in books compiled in their present form in the fifth or sixth centuries A.D., the dynastic lists of the *Purāṇas* contain historic material of the Vedic period as proved by Pargiter on many different occasions. The origin ascribed to the term Kaliṅga is mythical. It is said that the queen Sudeshṇā bore five sons to her husband, the *Dānava* King Bali, begotten on her by the sage Dīrghatamas according to the well-established Indian law of Levirate. These sons were named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma and the countries over which they ruled were named after them. According to the genealogies Pururavas, the son of Budha

by the *Kimpurusha* Ilā was the progenitor of the kings of Kaliṅga. The Kaliṅga kings were, therefore, Kshatriyas of the Lunar family. Kaliṅga, the original founder of the kingdom of that name, was a descendant of Titikshu, who belonged to the Ānava branch of the Aiḷas of Pratishṭhāna or Allahabad. Of the country itself we know, first of all, that Pṛithu, son of Veṇa, gave the country of Magadha to bards, called *Māgadhas* and *Sūtas* and Kaliṅga to the *Chāraṇas*.[1] It is stated that Mahapadma Nanda exterminated all Kshatriyas "and that until then there reigned contemporaneously for the same length of time 24 Aikshvākus, 27 Pāñchālas, 24 Kāśis, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Āśmakas, 36 Kurus, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas and 20 Vītihotras."[2] This statement proves that the claim of the kings of Kaliṅga to be regarded as Indo-Aryans is as old as the earliest kings of the Nanda dynasty. The neighbours of the kings of Kaliṅga were the Saudyumnas of Utkala. According to the Paurānic tradition Manu had ten sons, of whom the eldest was Iḷā. Iḷa entered the reed grove of Śiva and was cursed by Umā and became a female. In this stage Iḷā consorted with Budha, son of the Moon and Pururavas was born of this union. Then Śiva favoured him and he became alternately a man and a woman for one month. According to the second tradition Iḷā was a daughter of Manu and gave birth to Pururavas. Then she became a man named Sudyumna but on account of the same curse became a woman. He regained his manhood through Śiva's favour. Sudyumna had three sons, named Utkala, Gaya and Haritāśva or

[1] *Padma Purāṇa*, quoted by Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, *p. 16, Note 7.*

[2] *Ibid. p. 180.*

Vinatāśva. Manu is said to have divided the earth, that is India, among his nine sons, but into ten portions. "Some Purāṇas imply that Sudyumna had a portion, but others say he obtained none because he had been a woman. Nevertheless, the authorities generally declare, first, that he received the town of Pratishṭhāna and gave it to Pururavas; and secondly, that his three sons had territories of their own, thus Utkala had the Utkala country, Vinatāśva had a Western country, and Gaya had the city Gayā and the Eastern region; but according to two Purāṇas, Gaya had only the city Gayā, and Haritāśva had the Eastern region together with the Kurus, that is, the Northern Kurus."[1] After the Kurukshetra war Kaliṅga is mentioned among the kingdoms that continued in North-eastern India. "A list is given of the note-worthy kingdoms that continued to exist, *viz.*, states in the eastern part of North India, Ayodhyā, Kāśī, the Maithilas (of Videha), Bārhadrathas (of Magadha, which probably included Aṅga), and Kaliṅga."[2] The positions of Utkala and Kaliṅga show that the kingdoms of the sons of Sudyumna and that of Kaliṅga, son of Bali, were conterminous. The descendants of Manu held (1) all the Panjab (except the N. W. Corner), comprising the kingdoms of Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kaikeya, Madra, Vāhlika, Śivi and Ambashṭha; and (2) all East Bihar, Bengal Proper (except the north and east) and Orissa, comprising the kingdoms of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kaliṅga.[3] "The Sudyumnas were restricted to the hilly country between Gayā and Northern Orissa.[4]

1 *Ibid., pp. 253-55.*
2 *Ibid., p. 293.*
3 *Ibid., pp. 285-86.*
4 *Ibid., p. 292.*

The descendants of Iḷā-Sudyumna jointly occupied the whole of North-eastern India from the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts of Bihar and Orissa in the west as far as the Godāvari Delta in the south. The Aiḷa origin of the kings of Kaliṅga finds corroboration in the Hāthigumphā and Manchapuri inscriptions of Khāravela and Kuḍepasiri. Both of these kings are called Airas which is certainly the equivalent of Aiḷa. It is strange to find Khāravela, whose name is distinctly Dravidian, claiming Aryan origin. The Purāṇas do not say anything about the dynasties reigning in Kaliṅga, but place 32 kings in this country up to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. The extermination of Kshatriyas by that king indicates that the first dynasty of kings came to an end with the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Nandas of Magadha. The fact that Khāravela belonged to the third dynasty proves that Kaliṅga regained its independence for a short time under the second dynasty of kings after the fall of the Nandas.

The Mahābhārata mentions Kaliṅga and states that its capital was called Rājapurī. Kaliṅga was certainly known to Pāṇini and it is mentioned several times in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. It is mentioned in the first place as one of the countries which produces the best class of elephants [1]. *Kāliṅgaka* is mentioned as the colour of an elephant in the chapter on the "Superintendent of gold in the goldsmith's office."[2] Again, the same term is used to denote a poisonous plant and the commentator tells us that this *Kāliṅgaka* was like barley[3]. The term is used in the fourth place to denote

[1] *Arthaśāstra, 1919, Text, p. 50; Eng. Trans. 1915, p. 56.*

[2] *Ibid., Text, p. 86; Trans. p. 103.*

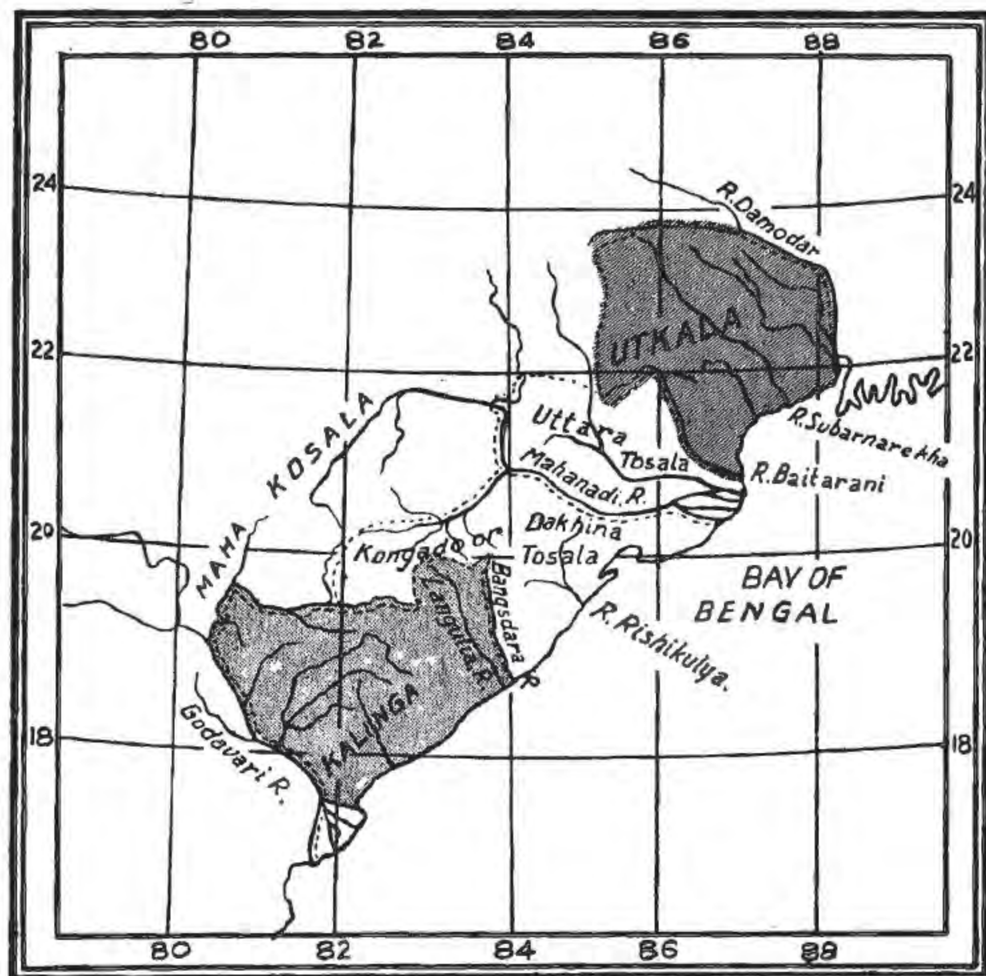
[3] *Ibid., Text, p. 100; Trans. p. 122, Note 16.*

a species of cotton fabric (*Kārpāsikam*[1]). In Tamil the word Kaliṅgam is used to denote cotton cloths[2].

Kaliṅga is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a warrior of Skanda. The king of this country was present at the time of the *Svayamvara* of Draupadī in the army of Duryodhana. A king of Kaliṅga named Śrutāyus is mentioned as being in the right wing of Droṇa's army. He is also said to have protected Jayadratha and attacked Bhīma and Arjuna. A king of Kaliṅga named Kuhara is mentioned among the incarnations from the Krodhavasa *gaṇa*. Arjuna is said to have visited all the holy places in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. Sahadeva vanquished the king of Kaliṅga during his Dig-vijaya and the latter brought tribute to Yudhishṭhira. The king of Kaliṅga was vanquished by Karṇa and Yudhishṭhira had visited the country while on *Tīrthayātrā*. Sahadeva and Kṛishṇa had destroyed Kaliṅga in Dantakura. During the war the army of Kaliṅga followed the lead of Bhagadatta the King of Kāmarūpa. The army of Kaliṅga was placed in the neck of the formation under Droṇa called the *Garuḍa-vyūha*, the Kaliṅga king is said to have been defeated by Rāma Jāmadagnya and to have fought with Sātyakī. When their king was killed during the Kurukshetra war they fought under his son who was also killed by Bhīma. Finally the people of Kaliṅga are mentioned as Kshatriyas who had been degraded to the rank of Śūdras and as people who have no religion (*Durdharman*). The king of Kaliṅga is also said to have supported Śakuni and to have been defeated by Śikhaṇḍin. The daughters of the kings of

[1] *Ibid., Text, p. 81, Trans. p. 94.*

[2] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. VIII, 1922, p. 3.*


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R.Damodar
UTKALA
R.Subarnarekha
Uttara
Tosala
R.Baitarani
Mahanadi.R.
MAHA KOSALA
Dakhina
Kongada or
Tosala
BAY OF
BENGAL
Bangsdara
Langulia R.
R.Rishikulya.
KALINGA
Godavari R.

Trikalinga

Kaliṅga are said to have married Akrodhana and Taṁsu.[1] The Utkalas also are mentioned as a people who were formerly defeated by Karṇa on behalf of Duryodhana. They are combined with the Mekalas and the Kaliṅgas.[2] Similarly the Oḍras or the Uḍras are also mentioned as a people who waited on Yudhishṭhira. They were defeated by Sahadeva with the Keralas and were present at the *Rājasūya* with the Pauṇḍras. During the Kurukshetra war they joined the army of the Pāṇḍavas.[3]

Kaliṅga is not mentioned among the 16 great nations enumerated in early Pali Text-books, such as the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*; but a verse preserved in the *Dīgha Nikāya* mentions that Dantapura was the capital of the Kaliṅgas and this has been reproduced in the *Mahāvastu* in a very incorrect form[4]. This tradition proves "that at the time when the four Nikāyas were put into their present forms, it was believed that before the Buddha's life-time the distribution of power in Northern India, had been different from what it afterwards became." Dantapura the capital of Kalinga has been mentioned several times in the Jātakas, which shows that the town or the city was very old. It is very tempting to identify this Dantapura with the Dantakura mentioned in the Mahābhārata, where the Pāṇḍava Sahadeva and Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva defeated the army of Kaliṅga. It was from this Dantapura that the Tooth of Buddha was taken away to Ceylon.

[1] Sorenson—*Index to the names in the Mahābhārata, London 1904, p. 376.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 695.*

[3] *Ibid., pp. 522, 687.*

[4] *Cambridge History of India Vol. I, pp. 172-73.*

The Buddhist books, specially the Pali texts, mention Kaliṅga several times. In the *Jātakas*, a king of Kaliṅga, named Karaṇḍu is mentioned as the contemporary of King Nagnajit of Gandhāra and Bhīma of Vidarbha. This is corroborated by the *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra.*[1] In the *Mahā-govinda Suttānta* we find the name of another king of Kaliṅga named Sattabāhu, who was the contemporary of king Dattaraṭṭa of Benares.[2] According to this text also Dantapura was the capital of Kaliṅga. According to the Mahāvaṁśa, the mother of Vijaya, the conqueror of Ceylon, was a princess of Bengal, but her mother was a princess of Kaliṅga. She was banished on account of her immorality and went with a caravan of merchants, going to Magadha. On the way, while going through the country of *Lāḍhā* (modern *Rāḍhā* or Western Bengal) the party was scattered by the attack of a lion which captured the princess and became the father of Siṁhabāhu or Sihabāhu, the father of Vijaya. This Siṁhabāhu was permitted, for killing his father, *i. e.*, the lion, to clear the forest and found the kingdom of Northern Kaliṅga, the capital of which was Siṁhapura. It is quite probable that the village of Singur in the Hooghly district of South-Western Bengal is identical with Siṁhapura, the new capital of Northern Kaliṅga. According to the Tamil work, *Maṇi-mekhalāi*, the heroine is said to have caused the destruction of the city of Madurā by fire. The city goddess, Madurāpati, is said to have appeared before her and told her the following story about her previous birth : "Two princes, cousins by birth and

[1] Cowell—*Jātakas, Vol. III, pp. 228-32. (Kumbhakāra Jātaka)*

[2] *Dialogues of Buddha, Vol. II, p. 270.*

ruling respectively in Siṁhapura and Kapila in the fertile country of Kaliṅga, fell to fighting against each other in great hatred. This war between Vasu and Kumāra left the country desolate for six *gavuḍas* (leagues), and made it impossible for anybody to approach on account of the prevalence of the war. A merchant, Saṁgama by name, with his wife, eager after profit, went there to sell jewellery and other articles of sale at Siṅgapuram. In course of his business he was arrested by Bharata, a police official of the monarch, and shown up before the monarch as a spy. Under royal orders he was beheaded and his wife bewailing the unfortunate death of her husband, put an end to her own life by throwing herself from the top of a hill. It is the curse that she invoked at the moment of her death that has now resulted in the mishap to your husband."[1] The fourth chapter of the *Śāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata narrates the following story about Chitrāṅgada, the king of Kaliṅga. Karṇa after receiving the weapon from Paraśurāma went with Duryodhana to attend a *Svayamvara* in the country of Kaliṅga, the capital of which was called Rājapura. Kings of many countries such as Śiśupāla, Jarāsandha Bhīshmaka, etc., came to attend the ceremony. When the daughter of the Kaliṅga king entered the *Svayamvara Sabhā* and passed Duryodhana in neglect, the latter carried her away on his chariot.[2]

A large mass of new material about the location of Dantapura and its identification with the Ancient Kaliṅga-

1 S. K. Āyyangar—*Manimekhalāi in its historical Setting, London, 1928, p. 187.*

2 *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, Rājadharma-parvan, Adhyāya IV Kumbhakonam Edition, Bombay, Nirnay-Sagar Press, Saka 1829.*

nagara has been collected by Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao B. A., Ll. B, of Rajamahendri. According to Mr. Krishnarao the name, Jantavuram, the capital of Kāmārṇava I, is really Dantavuram and the late Dr. Fleet committed a mistake in reading it as such. The proposed identification of this Jantavuram with Jayantipuram, which is mentioned in the *Kshetra-māhātmyam,* is clearly a mistake. Mr. Krishnarao says that he had examined the Vizagapatam and the Korni plates, in which the letters *da* of Dantapuram are quite clear. If Mr. Krishnarao is correct, then all doubt vanishes about the identification of this Dantavuram with Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga mentioned in Buddhist literature as the place from which the Tooth relic was carried away to Ceylon. In addition to the charters of the Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, the name Dantapuram is also to be found in the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgam. Kāmāraṇava II had built a new city named Nagara and changed his residence to that place. This Nagara is said to have been built on the banks of the river Vaṁśadhārā. According to a local tradition of Mukhaliṅgam, a king of Dantavuram, who was a Śaiva, bitterly hated the Buddhists who were living in a large monastery in his capital. Acting according to the advice of his ministers, he invited all Buddhists to a great feast in his palace and as each guest arrived he was captured and quietly dispatched. In a short time the news of this treachery spread like wild fire and all Buddhists cursed the city and fled for their lives. Afraid of this curse, the king left his capital and founded a new city on the bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā. Since then Dantavuram or Dantapura has been deserted. According

to Mr. Krishnarao, the ruins of an old city near Amudalavalasa and Chicacole Road station of the B. N. R. is still called Dantavuram, but the origin of the name is now traced to Dantavaktra, the brother of Śiśupāla, the king of the Chedīs. Mr. Krishnarao identifies this Dantapura with Dandaguḍā or Dandagula of Pliny which was situated at a distance of 625 Roman or 524 English miles from the mouth of the Ganges. Cunningham also suggested this identification but placed it on the Godāvarī as it was said that Calingon stood at the mouth of a great river. Mr. Krishnarao identifies Calingon with Kaliṅgapatanam and Dandagula with Dantapura. The river Vaṁśadhārā is taken by him to be the great river mentioned by Pliny. According to Mr. Krishnarao the very name Dantapura is also to be found in the inscriptions in the temple of Madhukeśvara.[1] It has been already suggested before that either the Lāṅgulīyā or the Vaṁśadhārā must have been larger and tidal rivers at one time so as to act as provincial boundaries. In fact, one of these two rivers was the Southern boundary of Koṅgoda or Central Orissa and therefore the Northern boundary of Kaliṅga. These two rivers are mentioned almost side by side in the Matsya and the Vāyu *Purānas*. They are mentioned among rivers rising out of the Mahendra mountains. The verses occur almost in an identical form in these two *Purāṇas* "Tribhāgā, Rushikulyā, Ikshudā, Tridivā, Laṅgulinī and Vaṁsadhārā are daughters of the Mahendra."[2] The Matsya adds Tāmraparṇi, Mūlī, Sarava

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV, 1929, pp. 110-111.*

2 त्रिसामा ऋतुकुल्या च इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या
लांगूलिनी वंशधरा महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः।

Vāyu Purāṇa, XLV. 106. Rajendralala Mitra's edition makes Tribhagā, Trisamā and Rushikulyā, Ṛitukulyā.

and Vimalā to these. As the Laṅguliyā and Vaṁśadhārā are omitted here, the text of the Vāyu appears to be more correct.[1] The chapter in the Matsya is entitled *Bhuvana-Kośa-varṇanam.*[2] In the same chapter of both the *Purāṇas*, the Kaliṅgas are mentioned with the Setukas, Mushikas, Kumanas, Vanavāsikas, Mahārāshṭras, and Māhishakas.[3] A few lines later the Utkalas are mentioned along with the Mālavas, Karushas, Mekalas, Daśārnas, Bhojas and Kishkandhakas. In the next verse the Tosalas and Kośalas are mentioned along with the Traipuras, Vaidiśas, Tumuras, Tumbaras and Nishādas.[4] The Matsya clearly mentions the Oḍras with Utkalas, while the text in the Vāyu corrupts this word into *Uttamarṇa*. This grouping of the countries proves that the compilers of the *Purāṇas* did not place them haphazard according to the needs of the metre but according to the position of the country. Thus both the *Purāṇas* clearly state that the Kaliṅgas like the Mushikas and Vanavāsikas were

1 त्रिभागा ऋषिकुल्या च इक्षुदा त्रिदिवाचला
ताम्रपर्णी तथा मूली शरवा विमला तथा
महेन्द्रतनयाः सर्वाः प्रख्याताः शुभगामिनी ।

The Text I have used is a very old one, it being in fact a lithograph copy published in 1874 at Poona by Raoji Sridhar Gondhalekar.

2 सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव कुमना वनवासिकाः
महाराष्ट्रा माहिषका कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः । *Matsya Purāṇa, 113. 31.*

3 *Vāyu. XLV. 125 ; Matsya. 113. 47.*

4 मालवाश्च करूषाश्च मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह
उत्तमर्णा दशार्णाश्च भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह
तोसलाः कोसलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिकास्तथा
तुमुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव षट्सुरा निषधैः सह ।

Vāyu. XLV. 132-3 ; Matsya. 113. 52-3.

inhabitants of *Dakshiṇāpatha* or Southern India. The Utkalas or the Oḍras are placed in South Central India along with the Mālavas, Mekalas, Daśārṇas and Bhojas. It is a well-known fact that Daśārṇa is one of the names of Mālava and by mentioning it in the same sentence with Mālava, the authors show that they distinguished Ākara from Avantī, though the latter is mentioned in the next verse once more. Similarly the Mālavas are mentioned with the Kirātas and the Trigartas towards the end of this chapter as people living in the hill *(Parvat-āśrayiṇaḥ)*[1]. The mention of the Tosalas and Kosalas along with the people of Tripurī and Vidiśā show that Central Orissa or Tosala and Chattisgadh or Kośala was situated in North Central India. Tripurī is modern Tewar in the Jubbulpore district and Vidiśā is most probably modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State. The Tumuras, Tumburas, and Nishādas are not easy to identify ; but the Nishādas are also people of the North Central Belt around Āryāvartta or Northern India. The verdict of these two *Purāṇas*, which supply the Hindu idea of the world, in chapters entitled *Bhuvana-vinyāsa* or *Bhuvana-kośa-varṇanam*, shows that of the three different divisions of Orissa the people of Kaliṅga were regarded as inhabitants of Southern India. But the people of Northern Orissa (Oḍra) and the hilly tracts (Utkala) were regarded as people inhabiting the Vindhyan ranges *(Vindhya-vāsinaḥ)* along with the Bhojas of Berar and the Mekalas of South Central Provinces. The people of Tosala or Central Orissa and Kośala or Chattisgadh were not classed with the people of Southern India or the Hill

1 कुथप्रावरणाश्चैव हूणादर्वाः समुद्गकाः त्रिगर्ता मालवाश्चैव किरातास्तामसैः सह ।
Vāyu Purāṇa, XIV, 136.

tribes of the Vindhyan range but with the more civilised inhabitants of the celebrated Dānava or Daitya capital of Tripurī and of that ancient stronghold of Indian civilization, Mālava. In the Padma-*Purāṇa* the Kaliṅgas are mentioned twice. Once they are mentioned with the Bodhas, Madras, Kukuras and Daśārṇas[1] and once more in the same chapter with Droshakas, Kirātas, Tomaras and Karabhañjakas.[2] The Oḍras are mentioned in the same chapter with the Mlechchhas, Sairindras, the hill-men, Kirātas, Barbarians, Siddhas, Videhas and Tāmraliptikas.[3] The Bṛihat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira mentions the Kaliṅgas in several places. In the chapter entitled *Graha-Bhakti-Yoga* the countries of Oḍra and Kaliṅga as well as the people of Kaliṅga are mentioned as being under the direct influence of the Sun.[4] The rivers Mahānadī, Śoṇa, Narmadā, Vetravatī, Siprā, Godāvarī, Veṇā (Kṛishṇā), Indus and

1 बोधा मद्राः कलिङ्गाश्च काशयो ऽपरकाशयः
जठराः कुकुराश्चैव सदशार्णाः सुसत्तमाः ।

Padma-Purāṇam, Ādikāṇḍa VI, 37

द्रोषकाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च किरातानां च जातयः
तोमरा हन्यमानाश्च तथैव करभञ्जकाः । *Ibid, V. 64.*

3 किराता बर्बराः सिद्धा वैदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तिकाः
औड्रम्लेच्छाः ससैरिन्ध्राः पार्वतीयाश्च सत्तमाः । *Ibid. V. 52.*

4 प्राङ्नर्मदार्द्धं शोणोड्रवङ्गसुह्माः कलिङ्गवाह्लीकाः
शकयवनमगधशबरप्राग्ज्योतिषचीनकाम्बोजाः ।
मेकलकिरातविटका बहिरन्तः शैलजाः पुलिन्दाश्च
द्रविडानां प्रागर्द्धं दक्षिणकूलं च यमुनायाः ।
चम्पोदुम्बरकौशाम्बिचेदिविन्ध्याटवीकलिङ्गाश्च
पुण्ड्रगोलाङ्गूलश्रीपर्वतवर्द्धमानाति ।

Bṛihat-Saṁhitā, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, Vol. X, Part I, Benares, 1895, p. 306. (XVI. 1-3).

the mountains Vindhya, Mālaya and the people of Chola, Draviḍa, etc., are said to be under the influence of the son of Vasudhā (Maṅgala or Mars).[1] When Bhauma is defeated by Śaśija or Budha, the people of Kaliṅga along with those of Śūrasena or Mathurā and the Śālvas are troubled.[2] When Śukra or Jupiter is overpowered by Guru or Bṛihaspati, then the people of Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Kośala, Vatsa (Kauśāmbī), Matsya (Alwar State) and those of the *Madhya-deśa* (Central U. P.) are very much troubled.[3] The people of Oḍra are mentioned along with the Ṭaṅgaṇas, Andhras, Vāhlikas and Kāśis as the people who are troubled when Śukra or Jupiter overpowers Śanaiśchara or Saturn.[4] The Bṛihat Saṁhita being a work on Astrology, no arrangement or order can be expected among countries or nations under the influence of any particular planet. But the different countries and

1 शोणस्य नर्मदाया भीमरथायाश्च पश्चिमार्धस्थाः
निर्विन्ध्या वेत्रवती सिप्रा गोदावरी वेणा।
मन्दाकिनी पयोष्णी महानदी सिन्धु मालतीपाराः
उत्तरपाण्ड्य महेन्द्राद्रिविन्ध्यमलयोपगाश्चोलाः।
द्रविड़विदेहान्ध्राश्मकभासापरकौङ्कणाः समन्त्रिषिकाः
कुन्तलकेरलदण्डककान्तिपुरम्लेच्छसङ्करिणः।
Ibid., p. 309 (XVI. 9-11).

2 गुरुणाजिते निहते वाह्लीका यायिनोऽग्निवार्ताश्च
शशिजेन शूरसेनाः कलिङ्गशाल्वाश्च पीड्यन्ते।
Ibid., p. 329 (XVII. 13).

3 कोशलकलिङ्गवङ्गावत्सा मत्स्याश्च मध्यदेश युताः
महतीं व्रजन्ति पीड़ां नपुंसकाः शूरसेनाश्च।
Ibid., p. 331 (XVII. 22).

4 असिते सितेन निहतेऽर्घ वृद्धि रहिविहगमानिनां पीड़ा
क्षितिजेन टङ्कणान्ध्रौड्रकाशिवाहीकदेशानाम्।
Ibid., p. 332. (XVII. 25)

nations are mentioned in a certain order which is significant in the *Dharma-sūtra* of Baudhāyana. The country between the Indus and the Vidharaṇī (Yamunā), where the black deer roams, is regarded as the Aryan country proper, where religious rites may be performed. The Avantis, Aṅgas, Magadhas, Saurāshṭras, Dakshiṇāpathas, Upavṛits, Sindhus and Sauvīras are regarded as of mixed origin. The commentator states before the beginning of this *sūtra* that after the country between the Indus and the Yamunā begins the *Mlechchha* country. The actual commentary on Sūtra 29 states that in these countries there is no arrangement or regulation with regard to women. In Avanti customs approved by the Aryans are not prevalent. So the people of South Bihar along with those of South-western Malwa, Kathiawad, Western India and Sindh and Ophir formed a belt of Mlechchha countries around the provinces inhabited by the Aryans and were gradually coming within the pale of Aryan civilisation. The people of the countries lying to the south, east and west of this belt, were still untouchables. The commentary says before beginning the *Sūtra* that "Certain countries should not be entered." In the *Sūtra* itself we are informed that any one who goes to the countries of the Araṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas has to perform the Sarva-pṛishṭi sacrifice. In the next *Sūtra* we are informed that whoever goes to Kaliṅga commits sin with his feet and must perform the *Vaiśvānarīya Ishṭi*. The commentary on the the *Sūtra* makes it very definite and according to it any man who goes to Kaliṅga expiates by the performance either of *Sarva-pṛishṭi* or the *Vaiśvānarīya Ishṭi* as an

alternative, but in the case of Arattas and others, that is, the people of Puṇḍra, Sauvīra and Vaṅga the sin arose even if any Aryan spoke to them or sat together with them.

The people of Eastern Bengal, Northern Bengal and Kaliṅga were, therefore, regarded in the time of the *Sūtras* as being altogether out of the pale of Aryan civilisation and among them the people of Kaliṅga obtained a slight preference. So, while the people of Bengal were regarded as untouchables and were not spoken to or touched by the Aryans, the people of Kaliṅga were not so. We have no means to determine for what reasons the Aryan lord condescended to confer this distinction on the dark Dravidian of Kaliṅga ; but it is there in the *Sūtra* literature and cannot be denied.

CHAPTER V

ORISSA UNDER THE NANDAS AND THE MAURYAS

Orissa emerges into the light of history with the rise of the Nandas. Pauranic tradition records that, when 32 kings of Kaliṅga had reigned, Mahāpadma Nanda rose and exterminated the Kshatriyas. This evidently means that, after the end of the Mahābhārata War and before the conquest of Northern India by Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha, 32 kings reigned in Kaliṅga for 1050 or 1115 years. This is evidently the first dynasty of Kaliṅga. The average reign of each king would be either 31.75 or 32. 812 years. This average is certainly not overmuch. The Hathigumpha inscription of King Khāravela contains two distinct references to the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Nandas. In both cases the term employed is *Nandarāja*, which may be taken either to be the first king of that dynasty or to Mahāpadma Nanda. The first reference is to be found in the 6th line and in the account of the 5th year of Khāravela's reign. The inscription says that a canal excavated in the year 103 or 300 of King Nanda was extended by Khāravela in that year as far as his capital city. According to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, the year in this sentence is taken to be one of the Nanda era referred to by Al-Bīruni in his *Taḥqīq-i-Hind*. Pargiter places the accession of the first Nanda King approximately in 402 B. C. (accession of Chandragupta in 322 B. C. plus 80 years of the reigns of nine Nanda kings). According to this estimate the canal in Kaliṅga was



Figure of elephant over Asoka's rock edict—Dhauli

excavated by the Nanda kings in 299 B. C. In that case it would be too late to ascribe this public work to Mahāpadma Nanda. Even if we take the Pauranic account of 100 years as the total length of the reigns of nine Nanda Kings and add it to the year 322 B. C., then we get 319 B. C. as the date of the excavation of the canal near the capital of Kaliṅga by a Nanda king, which is absurd. The only valid conclusion from this passage can be that this particular canal was excavated in Kaliṅga by a Nanda king, probably the first king of that dynasty, 103 years before the 5th year of Khāravela's reign, *i. e.*, 108 years before his accession. Mr. Jayaswal's view is that the era was counted from 458 B. C. and therefore, the canal was excavated in 355 B. C., at least 33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya.

The second reference to Nanda Kings is to be found in line 12 of the Hathigumpha inscription and in the account of the 12th year of the reign of Khāravela. In that year Khāravela caused great terror to the kings of the North-western frontier, terrorized the people of Magadha, caused his elephants to enter the Sugāṅga Palace of Pāṭaliputra and brought back the image of a Jina which had been carried away by Nandarāja.

There is, therefore, definite evidence in the Hathigumpha inscription to prove that one of the Nanda kings had conquered Kaliṅga and brought that Dravidian Empire under its sway. It would be more natural to suppose that a great conqueror, Mahāpadma Nanda, to whom the Purāṇas ascribe the subversion of all Kshatriya kingdoms, put an end to the Kshatriya monarchy in Orissa also. The second mention of Nandarāja in the

Hathigumpha inscription as having brought away the image of a Jina from Kaliṅga is extremely interesting from the point of view of the ancient culture of Orissa. Orissa had been a Jaina stronghold from the very beginning. The Jaina Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa says that Mahāvīra Vardhamāna had preached his religion in Kaliṅga. Another Jaina work, the *Haribhadrīya-vṛitti,* says that Mahāvīra Vardhamāna went to Kaliṅga as the king of that country was a friend of his father. The difficulty lies in the identification of this *Kaliṅga-Jina*, because Jaina tradition does not assign any of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* of the present age or *Kalpa* to Kaliṅga. Mr. Jayaswal and I have suggested that this *Kaliṅga-Jina* should be taken to refer to the tenth *Tīrthaṅkara,* Śītalanātha, who was born at Bhadalpur,[1] which is probably the same as Bhadrāchalam or Bhadrapuram in the Kaliṅga country. This Bhadrāchalam is at present in the Godāvarī district of the Madras Presidency.

What happened to Kaliṅga after the fall of the Nandas we do not know. It appears certain that Kaliṅga did not pass with the rest of the Nanda Empire to Chandragupta. Of course, it is quite possible that the Kshatriyas of Kaliṅga regained their independence during the decline of the Nanda power and even before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. It seems clear that Kaliṅga did not acknowledge the sway of Chandragupta Maurya and Bindusāra, because Aśoka had to conquer it. Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga is extremely significant in view of the fact that Chandragupta is credited with the conquest of even the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula as far as Podiyil

1 *Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, 1870, p. 136.*

hill in the Tinnevelly district. It is, therefore, evident that Kaliṅga was too powerful to be tackled immediately after the foundation of the Maurya Empire, while other States of Western and Southern India were clearly too small and unimportant to stand any chance with the great empire of Northern India. At the present date we can only guess the causes of Kaliṅga's greatness from indirect evidence which has been compiled in chapter VII. Kaliṅga had built up a great overseas empire and spread its colonies as far as the Philippine Islands in the East and far south into the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Very probably Chandragupta found out that it would not be possible for him to upset the power of Kaliṅga. So it was left for his grandson, the great Aśoka, to conquer Kaliṅga. From the date of the downfall of the Nandas to Aśoka's conquest of Kaliṅga we must count the period of the rule of the second dynasty of kings of Kaliṅga.

Aśoka himself had left enough materials for us in his 13th edict about his conquest of Kaliṅga and in the special edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada about the administration of the newly conquered territory. In the 13th edict Aśoka says that Kaliṅga was conquered by him in the 8th year from his coronation. During the conquest one hundred and fifty thousand men were captured and carried away into slavery, one hundred thousand men were killed and many times that number died as the result of the war. The horror of having killed many hundred thousands of men in action, as well as by the indirect effects of this campaign, is very well expressed by that Emperor himself, and there are no reasons to doubt the sincerity of the great Emperor's contrition. In a little

country like Kaliṅga, even if we take it at its greatest extension, from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godāvarī, the slaughter of three or four hundred thousand men and the capture of one hundred and fifty thousand must have meant terrible carnage. The numbers of Kaliṅgans, who were captured, killed or died of privations, indicate the stubborn resistance of the nation to the aggression of the Northern Empire. In that little strip of country, extending along the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, many a great battle must have been fought from the banks of the Suvarṇarekhā to that of the Kṛishṇā. A small but determined army could have opposed an invader at every river and there are so many of them all through. Aśoka is silent about the number of engagements, because it was not his object to record the events of his reign. There are hundreds of impregnable forts along the foot of the Eastern Ghats, at least some of which must have been stormed before the entire country submitted to Aśoka Maurya. Then comes the privations and horrors of a foreign invasion; the destruction of standing crops ; the burning and plunder of markets and bazars and the consequent famine and pestilence, which follow in the wake of such castastrophes due to the wickedness of man. The number of persons killed in action and those captured during the war must have been infinitesimal compared with the vast numbers that died of starvation, and plague and other diseases which each great war in this world carries in its train. Aśoka himself says : "Verily the slaughter, death and captivity of the people, that occur when an unconquered (country) is being conquered, is looked upon as extremely painful and regrettable by the Beloved of the God. But



Portion of the Dhauli edict

this is to be looked upon as more regrettable than that, namely, that there dwell Brahmanic, Sramanic, and other sects and house-holders, among whom are established this hearkening to the elders, hearkening to the parents, hearkening to the preceptors, seemly behaviour and steadfast devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives, and to slaves and servants. There (in the war) to such (pious) people befall personal violence, death, or banishment from the loved ones. And in case they are settled in life and possess undiminished affection, their friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives (thereby) meet with a calamity, (and) their that (calamity) becomes their personal violence....Even one-hundredth or one-thousandth part of those who were slain, died, or were captured in Kaliṅga, is to-day considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods." This expression of remorse has been believed to be genuine by all modern writers on the subject. The great Emperor ordered the incision of this edict at all places except within the boundaries of Kaliṅga proper. So, later in life, Aśoka was ashamed to express even his remorse in the country of Kaliṅga, so great was his remorse and so long was its continuity.[1]

The 13th rock edict, to be found at Shahbazgarhi in the North-Western Frontier Provinces and Mansehra, Girnar near Junagadh in Kathiawad and Kalsi near Dehra Dun, is not to be found at Dhauli in the Puri district of Orissa and Jaugada in the Ganjam district of Madras. The 12th edict, which does not contain much historical information, is also omitted from these two series, and in

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar—*Aśoka, Carmichael Lectures, 1923; Calcutta, 1925, pp. 22-25.*

their stead we find the two special Kaliṅga edicts which are addressed to the Mahāmātras at Tosali in the case of the Dhauli series and to the Mahāmātras at Samāpā in the case of the Jaugada series. The principal object expressed by the great Emperor in these two special edicts addressed to the officers in the heart of Kaliṅga was to express his intense solicitude for the citizens of the city and inhabitants of the villages. The law-officers of the crown are expressly instructed not to cause sudden obstruction or sudden infliction of pain. The Emperor continues to say that for this purpose he will start on tours every five years so that his officers may administer the empire without causing pain by harshness or by sloth. His sons will also go on tours every three years as well as the governor of Takshaśilā. The first separate edict has been translated by the late Dr. E. Hultzsch in the following manner :

"At the word of Devānāmpriya, the *Mahāmātras* at Tosali, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told (thus). Whatever is recognized (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means. And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, *viz.*, (to give) instruction to you. For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men. All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of (all) men. And you do not learn how far this (my) object reaches. Some single person only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,

(but) not the whole. Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for. It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer. In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially. But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions : envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness (and) fatigue. (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you. And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry. He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance. He who will pay attention to this, must tell you : See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king) such and such is the instruction of Devānāmpriya. The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil. For if one fails to observe this, there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king. For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfills this duty ? But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me and this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya. And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya. And if (you) act thus, you will be able to fulfill (this duty). For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, *(viz)* in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this),

(that) neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to (men). And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years *(a Mahāmātra)* who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but) of gentle action (*viz.*, in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers) paying attention to this object...are acting thus, as my instruction (implies). But for Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose......a person of the same description and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation). In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also. When......these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain well, (*viz.*) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies)."[1]

The first separate edict at Jaugada is practically the same, with the exception of the fact that the word *Samāpā* is substituted for *Tosaliyaṁ*. The second separate edict at Dhauli is addressed to the royal prince (probably the governor of Kaliṅga) as well as to the *Mahāmātras* at Toshali, but the same edict at Jaugada is addressed only to the *Mahāmātras.* In the first part there is a pointed reference to the unconquered tribes of the borders. The language employed is benevolent and extremely conciliatory. The second separate edict at Jaugada had been translated by the late Dr. Hultzsch in the following manner:

"Devānāmpriya speaks thus. The *Mahāmātras* at Samāpā have to be told (this) at the word of the king. Whatever I recognize (to be right) that I strive to carry out

1 Hultzsch—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, New Edition, Oxford, 1925, pp. 95-7.*

by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means. And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, *viz.*, (to give) instruction to you. All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men. It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask)—'What does the king desire with reference to us.' This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this (that) they may not be afraid of me but may have confidence in me ; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery ; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven ; that they may (be induced) by me, (to) practise morality ; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world. And for the following purpose I am instructing you (*viz.*, that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, *i. e.,* (of) my unshakable resolution and vow. Therefore acting thus (you) must fulfill (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father (that) he loves them as he loves himself (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children. Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, *i. e.*, (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (*i. e.* maintain) officers in all provinces for this object. For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world, and in the other world. And if (you) act thus you will attain heaven, and you will

discharge the debt (which you owe) to me. And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here *(viz.)* in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them), to practise morality. And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya. And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya). It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers. And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders.)"[1]

On the metalled road from Cuttack to Puri, a little distant from the river Prāchī, Aśoka's edicts were engraved on a low hill above which is carved in relief the forefront of an elephant. The rock surface was smoothed and carved as a sunken panel in which the edicts were inscribed. The surface of the panel was highly polished like the shafts of Aśoka's pillars. On the road from the river to the low rock one sees the ruins of a vast city containing hundreds of small and large mounds with small and large tanks in all stages of decay. Twenty-two years back, when I was editing the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja of the Gupta year 283, it was suggested to me by my venerable teacher Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasada Śāstrī, M. A., PH. D., C. I. E., at that time the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta, that these ruins represent the ancient city of Tosali. These ruins have so far been neglected by the Archæological Survey of India, and we do not know to what period they belong. The earliest mention of Tosali in historical records is to be

1 *Hultzsch—Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, New Edition, Oxford, 1925, pp. 117-8.*

found in the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja of the Gupta year 283, where the village granted is stated to have been situated in Southern Tosali.[1] The second mention of Tosali in a contemporary record is, therefore, approximately 866 years after the death of Aśoka. The next mention is to be found in the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara from which we know that the two villages granted were situated in the district of Northern Tosali.[2] As Śubhākara was the contemporary of the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong, the second mention of Tosali has to be placed towards the close of the 8th century A. D., *i. e.*, approximately 1,050 years after the death of Aśoka.[3]

What happened after the death of Aśoka we do not know. The next half-a-century is still covered with intense darkness. The history of Kaliṅga is not recorded either in inscriptions or in any section of Indian literature. We do not find the name of Kaliṅga in the list of missionaries sent by Aśoka for the propagation of the Buddhist faith to different parts of India. Evidently the faith of the people of Kaliṅga remained solid in Jainism. The darkness which now descends on the history of Kaliṅga and Orissa is lifted up only for about a quarter-of-a-century during the reign of Khāravela, when it descends again, to rise up in the 6th century A. D., or after a lapse of nearly eight centuries.

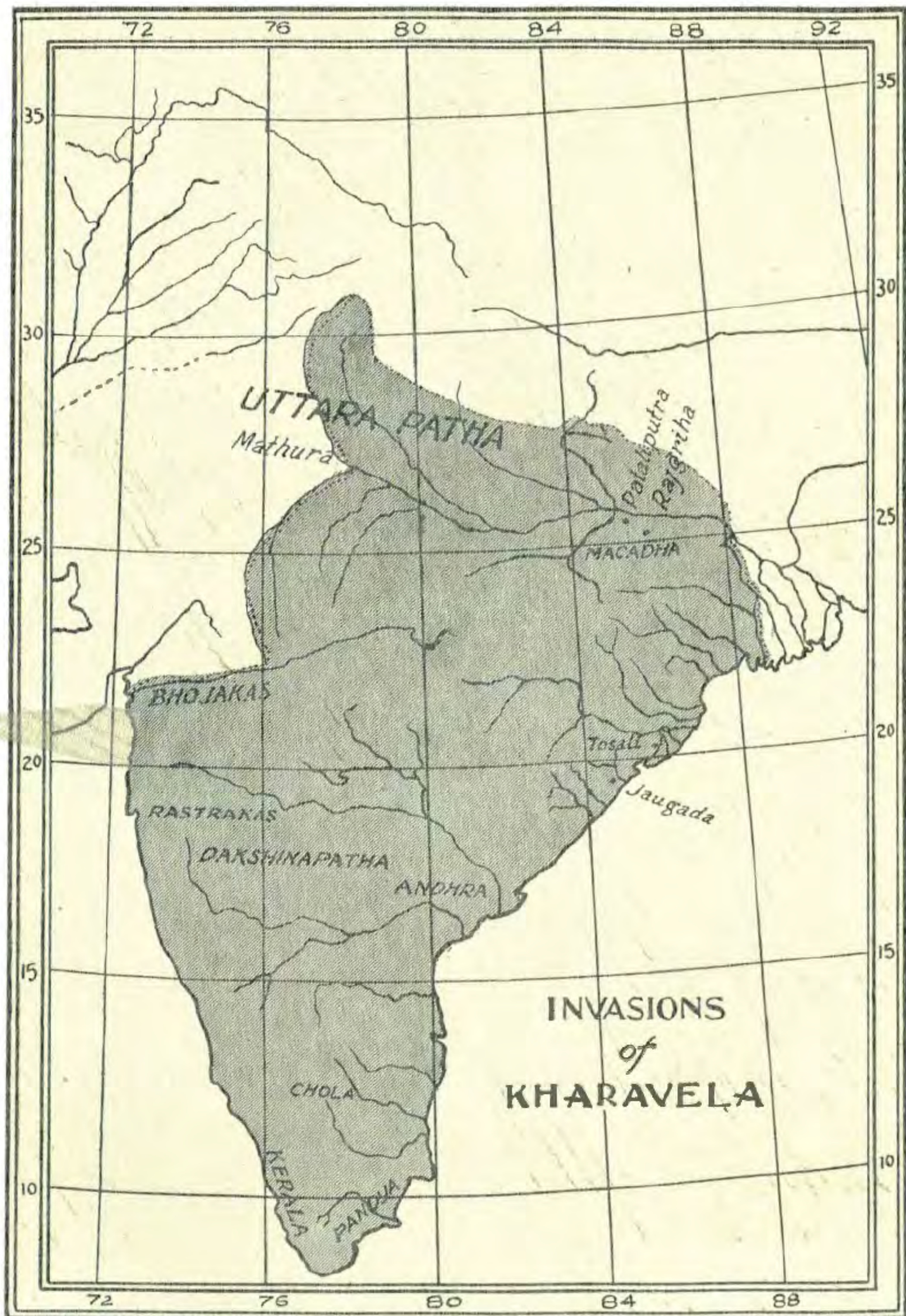
1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. IX., p. 287.*
2 *Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 3.*
3 *Ibid., p. 363*

CHAPTER VI

KHĀRAVELA AND THE EMPIRE OF KALIṄGA

Shortly after the death of the great Maurya Emperor Aśoka, Kaliṅga threw off the yoke of Magadha and regained independence. In appears that an independent kingdom was founded in Kaliṅga long before the extinction of the Maurya dynasty by the *Senāpati* Pushyamitra. The only source of the history of the revival of Kaliṅga and the conquest of Northern India by a Dravidian power is the great rock inscription of King Khāravela on Udayagiri hill, a low range near Bhuvaneswar in the Puri district of Orissa. This inscription, unfortunately, is very much damaged and the first seven lines and certain portions only of the remaining ten can be read with any degree of certainty.

This record supplies an account of the first 13 years of the reign of Khāravela and certain benefactions conferred by him on the Jaina community at the same place. This inscription is the only record of India, the object of which is to record the history of events of the reign of a particular monarch in chronological order. It is a Jaina inscription, and it is certain that Khāravela himself was a Jaina. The record opens with invocations to the *Ārhats* and the *Siddhas*, and we learn from the first line that Khāravela belonged to the Cheti or the Chedi dynasty. His titles were *Mahārāja* and *Mahāmeghavāhana* and he is also styled "Overlord of Kaliṅga" *(Kaliṅg-ādhipatin)*.



Invasions of Kharavela

We are not in a position to determine whether Orissa had a separate existence in the 2nd century B. C. Though Orissa may have existed separately as a province, it is certain that at this time it was included in the Empire of Kaliṅga. This is proved by the evidence of the Hathigumpha, Svargapurī and Mañchapurī inscriptions on Udayagiri hill. Khāravela is also called *Āira* in the Hathigumpha and the Mañchapurī cave inscriptions. Aira is equal to *Āiḍa* and *Āiḷa* and it means a descendant of Iḷa or Iḷā. Iḷā, the mother of Pururavas and the father of Sudyumna, was cursed by Pārvatī and became a woman when she gave birth to Pururavas. Later on, by the grace of Śiva she became a man for one month and was changed into a woman in the next. As a man he begot Sudyumana. The Chetis or Chedis are Aiḷas or descendants of Iḷā. Many Dravidian kings at this time claimed to be Aiḷa Kshatriyas and the Sātavāhana king Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī-Puḷumāvi also calls himself the great Aira *(Mahā-Āirakena)* in his great inscription in cave No. 3 of the Pāṅḍuleṅa group in the Nasik district.[1] We learn from the second line of the Hathigumpha inscription that after his 15th year Khāravela was trained in State correspondence, current accountancy and civil law, along with religious law. The actual term used for State correspondence is *Lekha*. During the rule of the Chālukyas of Aṇahilapātaka (Gujarat) a manual of such correspondence was composed.[2] The subject is also dealt with in the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭalya.[3] Similiarly the

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 65*

2 *Lekha-paddhati, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, p. 58.*

3 *Edition of Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1919, pp. 70-75.*

term used to denote Currency is *Rūpa* which should be taken to be the equivalent of Sanskrit *Rūpya*. The position of this word in the Hathigumpha inscription shows that it cannot be taken to mean acting. The word *Lupadakhe* is used in the Ramgarh (Sirguja) cave inscription of Devadina, where it has been taken to mean actor.[1] The exact meaning of the term is made clear by Buddhaghosha's explanation of a passage of the Mahāvagga. The term is explained in the following manner : "He who learns the Rūpa-sūtra must turn over and over many Kārshāpaṇas."[2] Finally the use of the term *Rūpa-darśaka* in the Artha-Śāstra, which is translated as "Examiner of Coins," shows that the term *Rūpa* was used in such cases as in the present inscription to refer to Currency. The term did not refer to Silver Currency alone, but to other metals also, as we find such terms as *Tāmra-Rūpa* also in the *Artha-Śāstra*.[3] The term used for accountancy in the Hathigumpha inscription is *Gaṇanā*. An entire chapter has been devoted to it. The actual term used is *Gāṇanikya*.[4] The education of the prince was completed with a knowledge of Civil or Municipal Law *(Vavahāra—Skt. Vyāvahāra)* and Religious Law or positive injunctions about Sacred or Canon Law *(Vidhi)*.

The Hathigumpha inscription is the only record which provides us with some information regarding a king's childhood and early training and the different departments

1 *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 128-29.*

2 *Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, p. 201 and Note.*

3 *Artha-Śāstra, Text, p. 84 ; Eng. Trans. p. 98.*

4 *Ibid., pp. 62-65. Eng. Trans. pp. 69-73.*

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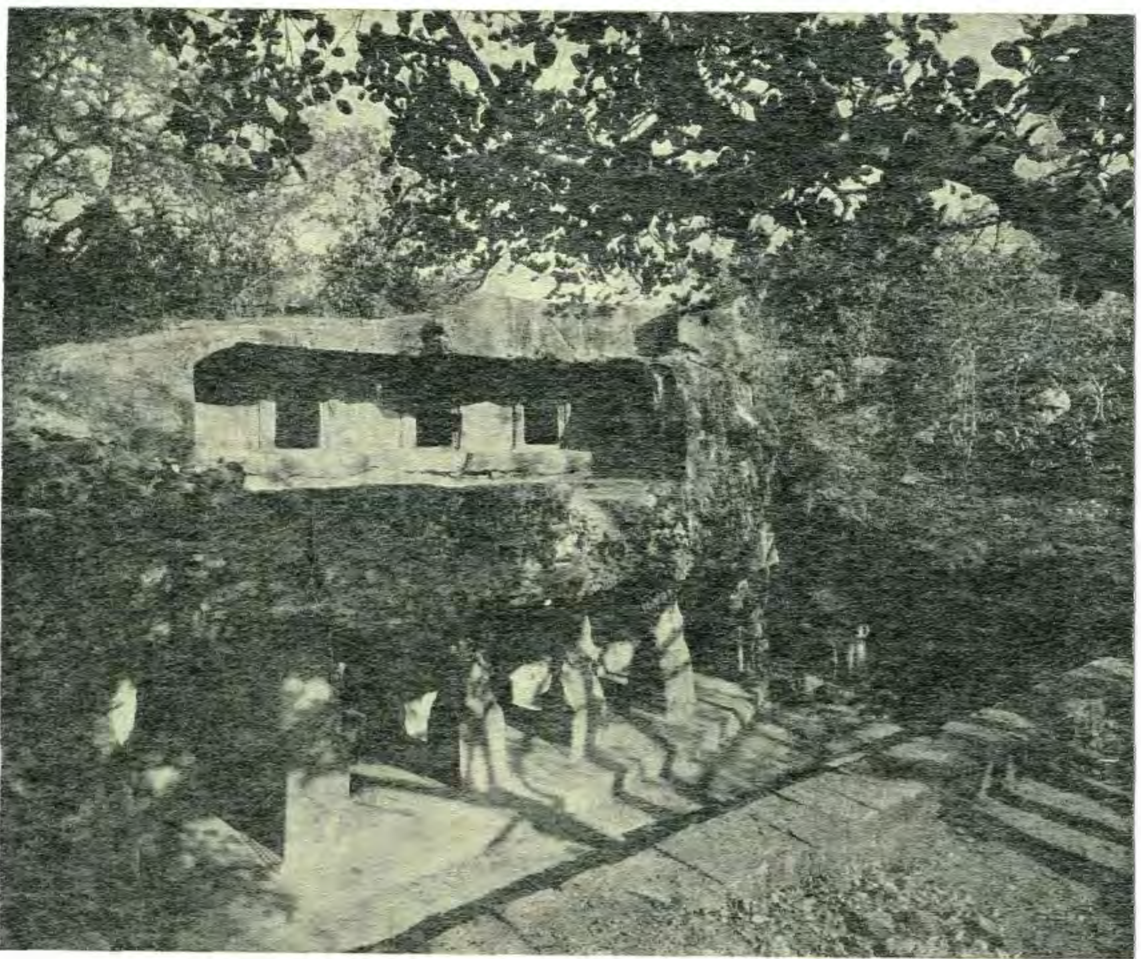
of knowledge into which he was to be initiated before his installation. Khāravela became the *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent at the age of 15 and remained so till his 24th year. There is a curious silence in the Hathigumpha inscription about Khāravela's predecessor. I believe that there are very few records in the world dealing with the history of the reign of a single king which omits that king's father or predecessor altogether. The silence of the Hathigumpha inscription on this point may give rise to a number of theories, but in the absence of any other evidence speculation would be fruitless. Two hypotheses only are possible, *viz.*, that Khāravela had inherited the throne of Kaliṅga as a minor or that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was like the modern States of Travancore and Cochin. In that case it was probably the custom not to mention a father as parentage was doubtful. Because the inscription calls Khāravela an *Āila*, therefore, Mr. Jayaswal thinks that Khāravela's people were Aryans, but the Purāṇas definitely mentioned the Kaliṅgas as a people of the Deccan and the country as being contiguous to the mythical *Strī-rājya*. Therefore, it is quite possible that some form of matriarchate was prevalent there.

Khāravela was formally annointed king in his 24th year and the record of his reign begins from this date. The first year of the king's reign was spent in repairing the damages to the city of Kaliṅga caused by a cyclone, to which that part of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal is still liable. The king repaired the gates, ramparts and buildings of the city, repaired or re-erected the dams of tanks and lakes, relaid the gardens and spent 35,000 coins for the benefit of his subjects. The first campaign of the reign was

undertaken in the second year when, without paying any heed to Śātakarnī, Khāravela sent a complete army, consisting of the four departments—infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants,—to the west. This army reached the river Kṛishṇā and caused terror to the city of the Mushikas. The Śātakarṇī referred to in the second line of the Hathigumpha inscription is evidently Śrī Śātakarṇī, the third king of the Sātavāhana or the Andhra dynasty, and the husband of the queen Nāyanikā, known to us from the Nanaghat statues and inscriptions. There is little doubt about this identification, because no other king of the name of Śātakarṇī preceded the husband of Nāyanikā and other kings of the same name are distinguished from Śātakarṇī I. by Matronymics, *e. g.*, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and Vāśisṭhīputra Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇī. The Purāṇas indeed bring in a second Śātakarṇī 18 years after the first, but his existence is not corroborated by contemporary evidence.[1] Śrī-Śātakarṇī had conquered Mālava and an inscription of one of his architects *(āvesanika)* is to be seen on one of the gateways of Stūpa No. 1 at Sanchi[2] in the Bhopal State. This is perhaps the first war in the history of Kaliṅga with the rising power of the Sātavāhanas of the Kanarese country. The Kaṇhabeṁnā, the Sanskrit form of which is Kṛishṇaveṇī, is the modern Kṛishṇā, which rises in the Satara district of the Bombay Presidency and passes through the southern part of the Hyderabad State to fall into the Bay of Bengal through the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras Presidency.

1 *Rapson—Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Andhras and W. Kshtrapas, p. lxvi.*

2 *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, pl. III,*



General view of the Svargapuri and Manchapuri caves—
Udaygiri, Puri District

It forms the boundary of the Nizam's State from Alampur near Karnul to Nandigama in the Nalgonda district. Its rise and particular sanctity are described in the *Uttara Khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-Purāṇa*.[1] The Mushikas are mentioned as a southern tribe in the Purāṇas. The *Padma* mentions them with the Draviḍas, Keralas, Karṇāṭakas and Kuntalas. Here they are divided into three parts :—(1) Mushika proper, (2) Bāla-Mushikas and (3) Vikandha Mushikas.[2] In the Vāyu they are mentioned among people of Southern India *(Dakshiṇāpatha-vāsiṇaḥ)* such as the Pāṇdyas, Keralas, Chaulyas, Setukas, and Vanavāsikas.[3] In the *Ānandāśrama* Series Edition of the Matsya, the Mushikas are mentioned with the same people where the name was misread "*Sutika*" and the Vānavāsikas spelt "*Vājivāsika*."[5] The Mahābhārata also mentions the Mushikas with the Vanavāsikas.[6] In the Vishṇu Purāna the Mushikas, appear with the *Strī-rajya*. Mr. Jayaswal is inclined to identify the Mushikas with the Mosalas but the Padma-Purāṇa distinctly mentions the Mosalas and the Mushikas separately. The identification of these two tribes, therefore, is untenable. From the Hathigumpha inscription it is abundantly clear that the Kaliṅgan army went due west from Kaliṅga and reached the river Kṛishṇā at some place during its long and erratic course. It is more probable that Khāravela terrorized the Mushikas from the bank of the Kṛishṇā. Mr. Jayaswal is of opinion that the

1 *Ānandāśrama Series, pp. 1467-69, Uttara-khaṇḍa, Chapter 113.*

2 *Ibid., p. 9, Ādikhaṇḍa, Chapter VI. 53-4.*

3 *Vāyu Purāṇa-Bib. Ind. p. 352, Chapter XLV.*

4 *Matsya-Purāṇa Chapter 114. V. 47.*

5 *Bhīshma-Parvan, Chapter IX.*

Mushikas were a people who have given their name to the river Musi near which the modern city of Ḥaidarābād-Deccan now stands. In my opinion the Mushika country stood further south, south of the Kuntala country or Vanavāse and may be tentatively identified with the famous port of Muziris. The inscription does not inform us about the reason of the expedition and its final results. The Kaliṅgan army reached the home country of the Sātavāhanas in the Bellary district and the invasion was certainly both a menace and insult to the dignity of Sātavahāna royalty.

In the third year of his reign there were great rejoicings in the capital of Kaliṅga. The record of the fourth year is partly damaged and there is no chance of the lost portion ever being recovered unless a duplicate of the Hathigumpha rock inscription is discovered somewhere else. It opens with a reference to a city established by previous kings of Kaliṅga which was regarded as being the abode of Vidyādharas and which had remained undamaged up to the reign of Khāravela. After the gap there is a reference to Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas, who were compelled to submit to Khāravela. They are also mentioned as *Mahāraṭhis*, and as *Mahābhojas* in the inscriptions in the Buddhist cave temples of Western India, such as Kanheri, Kuda and Bedsa. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as *risṭikas* in the Girnar, *Rastika* in the Shahbazgarhi and as *Raṭrakras* in the Mansehra version of the fifth edict of Aśoka. The Dhauli and Jaugada versions use the analogous form Laṭhika. In the 13th rock edict we find the Bhojakas mentioned along with the Pitinikas in the Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra and Kalsi

versions. In the Kanheri cave inscriptions of the time of Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda, a *Mahābhoja* is styled *Mahārāja*, showing that the term *Bhoja* was a clan or a caste name. In later times a *Bhojaka* is mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions of the Pallava king Śivaskanda-varman. The conquest or the subjugation of the Rāshṭrikas and the Bhojakas, even for a time, shows that Khāravela in the earlier part of his reign dealt a heavy blow at the power and the prestige of the Sātavāhanas.

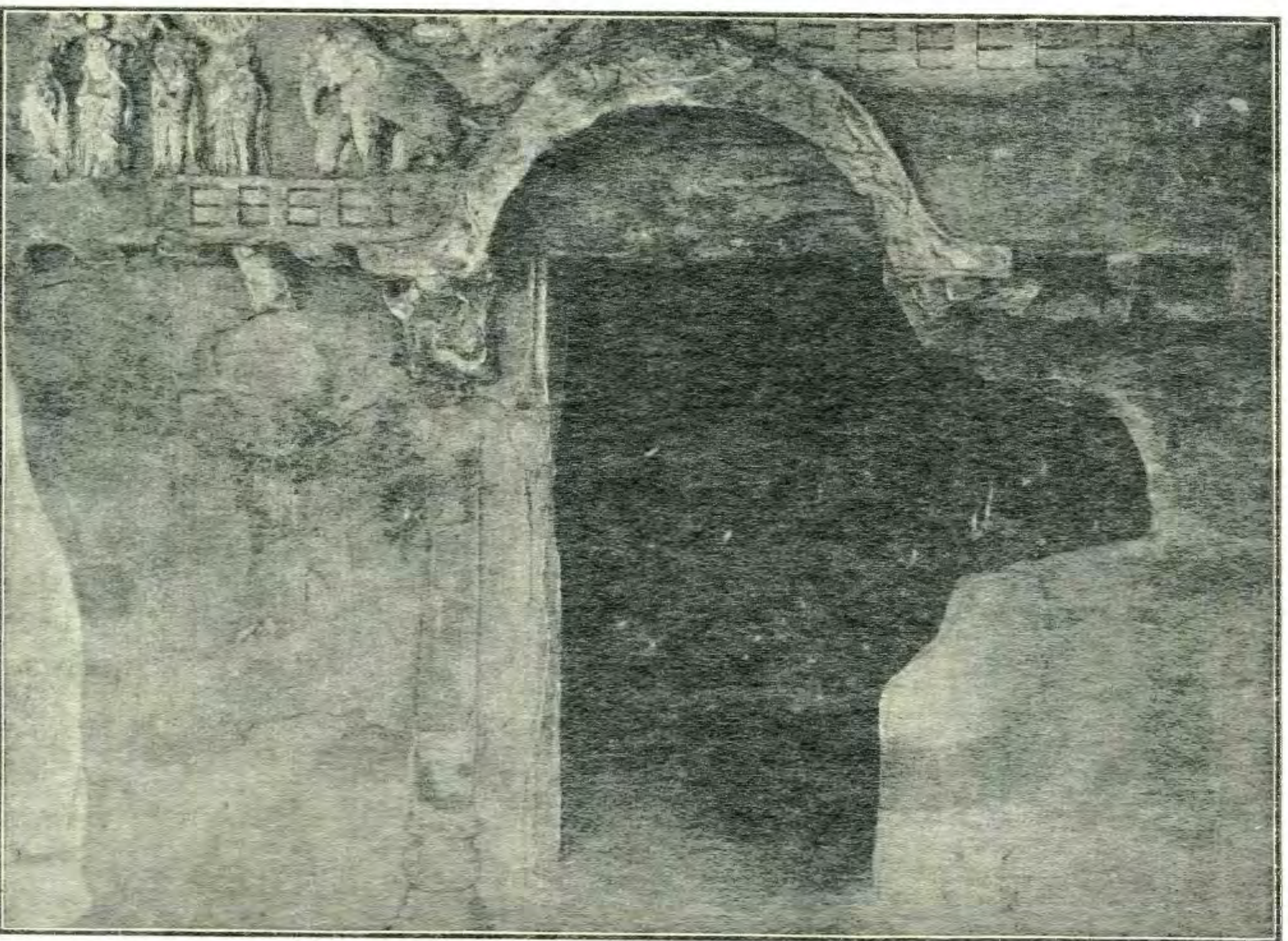
In the 5th year of his reign a canal, opened by a Nanda king 103 or 300 years ago, was extended as far as the capital city of Kaliṅga. Mr. Jayaswal's view of the reference to the Nanda king has been discussed above. The beginning of the 7th line is damaged, but from the context we can infer that it begins with the record of the 6th year during which Khāravela performed the Rājasūya ceremony and remitted taxes and customs duties. Many other concessions were granted to the people of the city, the cost of which amounted to hundreds of thousands. In the 7th year, most probably, a son was born to Khāravela of his queen who was a princess of Vajira-ghara. Vajira-ghara apparently is the old name of Wairagadh in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. It is mentioned as Vayirākāra in the Tiruvorriyur Adhipur-īśvara temple inscription of the 2nd year of the reign of Kulottuṅga I (*i. e.*, the Chālukya-Choḷa Rājendra Choḷa II). We learn from this inscription that the king captured elephants at this place. Another Tamil inscription of the 5th year of the same king in the Pāṇḍava-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram informs us that this king's victories at Vajirākāra and Chakra-koṭṭa were

gained while he was still the heir-apparent, *i. e.*, before 8th October, 1070 A. D. Chakra-koṭṭa still exists under the same name in the Bastar State. It is, therefore, certain that Vayiragara or Vajira-ghara is the same as Wairagadh.

The first important campaign in Northern India was undertaken in the 8th year of his reign, when Khāravela approached Magadha with a vast army. An important action was fought by Khāravela at Goradhgiri or modern Barābar hills in the Gaya district. Barābar has been recognised as one of the important outlying fortresses which protected Rājagṛiha, the former capital of Magadha. From the Barābar hills Khāravela harrassed the ancient metropolis Rājagṛiha (modern Rajgir in the Patna district of Bihar); but his approach to the then capital, Pāṭaliputra, had an important effect on the political history of the country. We learn from the Hathigumpha inscription itself that the Greek king Demetrios had to fall back on Mathurā, apparently his base, on hearing of the approach of Khāravela. The Greek invasion, and perhaps the siege of Pāṭaliputra, was known beforehand from the *Yuga-purāṇa* of the Gārgī-Saṁhitā, which has been recently published and translated by Mr. Jayaswal.[1] But it was not known that it was Demetrios of the dynasty of Euthydemos I. who advanced as far east as Pāṭaliputra. Unfortunately, the rest of l. 8 is damaged and therefore the sequel of the campaign is not known to us.

Most probably the record of the 9th year is given in l. 9. In this year Khāravela gave away elephants, chariots and horses, etc. And conferred certain exemptions on the Brāhmaṇa caste. A palace, called "the great victory"

[1] *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIV, pp. 127-28.*



Portion of the frieze—Corridor of the Manchapuri cave—Udaygiri, Puri District

(*Mahā-vijaya*), was built in the same year at a cost of 38 lakhs of coins. In the 10th year Khāravela undertook his second campaign in Northern India and at the same time broke the power of the Musalas or the Telugu country, but the details have been lost in the damaged portion of l. 10. In the 11th year Khāravela turned his attention to his neighbours on the South. In this year he destroyed the city of Pithuṇḍa and had its site ploughed with ploughs drawn by asses and at the same time he broke a league of the kings of the Tamil country which had existed for about 113 years. The city of Pithuṇḍa was the capital of the Musalas and it is mentioned by Ptolemy in his geography. Ptolemy calls the coast between the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī "Maisolia" which is termed "Masalia" in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*. The metropolis was called *Pityndra* which was situated in the interior.[1] In another place Pityndra is called the metropolis of the Arvarnoi, who are probably the same as the Avarājas[2] of the Hathigumpha inscription. The Tamil league is very interesting and the inscription uses the form *Tamira* for *Dramiḷa* or *Draviḍa*, which is certainly admissible in this form of Prakrit.

Campaigns were now undertaken in rapid succession, as the king was now in the prime of his life. In the 12th year of his reign Khāravela harrassed the kings of the North-Western frontier (*Uttarāpatha-rājāno*) and then, causing immense terror to the people of Magadha, he entered the capital of the Śuṅga Empire, Pāṭaliputra, and

1 *Ptolemy's Ancient India, Edited by S. N. Mazumdar, pp. 67-8.*
2 *Ibid., p. 185.*

quartered his elephants in the Sugāṅga Palace, mentioned in the Mudrā-Rākshasa. In this campaign Khāravela compelled the Rājā of Magadha, Bṛihaspatimitra *(Bahasatimita)*, to submit to him. During this campaign Khāravela brought away an image of the Jina of Kaliṅga, which had been taken away from that country by one of the Nanda Kings. It is difficult to say now who this Jina of Kaliṅga was. Most probably he was Śītalanātha, the 16th *Tīrthankara*, who was born at Bhadalpur, probably the same as Bhadrāchalam.

Finally in the 13th year of his reign on the Kumārī hill, *i. e.*, on Udayagiri, where the Jina Mahāvīra had preached his religion, he made arrangements for the distribution of white clothes to the Jaina monks. There is a reference to a relic memorial at this place. Such relic memorials were common in Upper India, references to them having been found in inscriptions.[1] In this year King Khāravela seems to have devoted himself entirely to religious meditation and work. At the end of the 1.14, he is said to have realized the relation of the soul to the body (*Jiva-deha-samghātam*.)

At the end of the campaign of the 12th year in Northern India Khāravela plundered Aṅga and Magadha and brought away the riches of the modern districts of Shahabad or Arrah, Patna, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Munger. This was a fitting sequel to the capture of Pāṭaliputra, up to that time regarded as the metropolis of Northern India. This was also the crowning act of his career, and throughout his own dominion it must have been regarded with

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. II, p. 274 ; Ind., Ant. Vol. XII, p. 99.*

great satisfaction as a fitting retaliation to the barbarities of the people of Magadha in the time of the Nandas and the Mauryas. At the end of the account of the 12th year of his reign, caves were excavated and this may refer to the great Rāṇī Nūr or Rāṇīnavara Gumphā to the east of the Hāthigumphā. In the same year Khāravela subdued the Pāṇḍyas and the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula, who sent jewellery either as present or tribute.

At the end of the 13th year, a Jaina Council was convened when monks from all quarters were assembled near the Relic Depository on the top of the hill. Two buildings are mentioned in ll.16-17 as having been erected, the first one of which was a shelter for a queen named Sindhulā of a place called Siṁhapatha. The second one was a temple built with four columns inlaid with beryl at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands. Finally, Khāravela caused to be compiled the text of the sevenfold *Āṅgas* of the sixty-four mystic letters which are mentioned in some of the Jaina literary books. According to Jaina tradition the *Āṅgas* were lost and subsequently recovered. The *Pūrvas* or older parts were known perfectly only to Bhadrabāhu, and when he retired to Nepal, he taught them to Sthulabhadra,[1] but he was forbidden to teach more than ten. The reference to the Mauryas in l. 16, makes it clear that the seven *Āṅgas* were lost during the religious upheaval during the rule of the great Mauryas Chandragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka. Most probably this loss to Jainism was in some way made good by Khāravela.

[1] *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 165.*

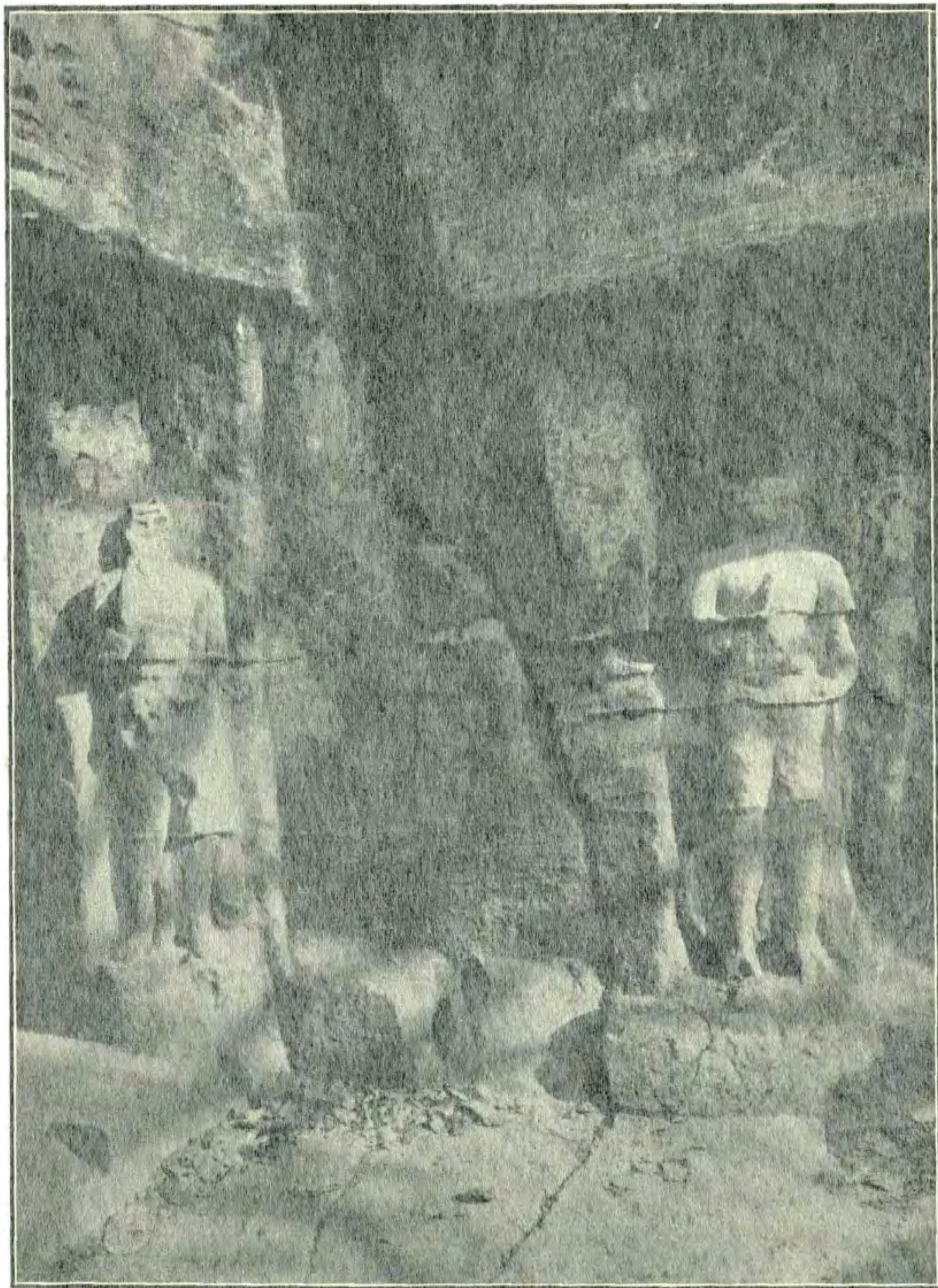
The Hāthigumphā inscription ends with the record of of the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela. Khāravela is mentioned once more in another inscription close to the Hāthigumphā, in the upper part of a double-storeyed cave called the Svargapuri. This part of this cave was excavated by the chief queen of Khāravela who is called *Kaliṅga-chakavaṭi* (*Kaliṅga-chakravarṭin*). The terms *Chakravartin* in this inscription and *Ādhipatin* in the Hāthigumphā record show that Khāravela had become the overlord of the Three Kaliṅgas. Only two other records of Kings of this dynasty are known, one of which has already been mentioned. This inscription records the excavation of this cave by the chief queen of Khāravela (*Āga-Mahisi*) who was the daughter of a king named Hathisiha[1] (*Hastisiṁha*) and was connected with another king named Lālāka. The second inscription is to be found in the verandah of the lower storey which is called Mañchapuri by the local people. This inscription records the excavation of this cave by another king of Kaliṅga named Kuḍepasiri, who also styles himself as *Āira*, *Mahārāja Mahāmegha-vāhana*,[2] and the overlord of Kaliṅga. The right wing of the same cave was excavated by a prince named Vaḍukha,[3] who may have been related to the dynasty of Khāravela. After Kuḍepasiri the pall of dense darkness again descends on the history of Kaliṅga, and most probably the country was subjugated by the Sātavahanas before their conquest of Magadha in the 1st century B. C.

The great rock inscription of Khāravela, better known

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 159.*

2 *Ibid., p. 160.*

3 *Ibid., p. 161.*



Corner of the Manchapuri—figures of Dvarapalas—Udaygiri, Puri District

as the Hāthigumphā inscription, the great cave temple of Khāravela on the same hill now called Rāṇī Nūr Gumphā and the smaller cave temples excavated by Khāravela's principal queen and king Kuḍepasiri are the only monuments of kings of the Chedī dynasty of Kaliṅga that have survived up to our times. The Hāthigumphā rock inscription of Khāravela was incised on the convex surface of a large boulder of the top of the Udayagiri hill. Towards the end of the inscription the boulder turns inside sharply and becomes a rock shelter, though not a regular cave. The floor of this rock shelter was divided into a number of caves by rock partitions. The walls of this cave are highly polished like the rock surfaces bearing the edicts of Aśoka, all pillars of Aśoka and the cave temples dedicated for the use of the Ājīvika sect by Aśoka and his grandson, Daśaratha, in the Barābar and the Nāgārjuni hills in the Gaya district. There are a number of pilgrim's records on these polished walls, all of which belong to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D.

The rock-cut Jaina monastery excavated on the Kumārī hill or Udayagiri by Khāravela is now known as the Rāṇī Nūr or Ṛāṇī Navara Gumphā. It lies behind the great rock inscription of Khāravela. According to Sir John Marshall, the double-storeyed cave, called the Svargapurī and the Mañchapurī, is the oldest cave in the series of early caves on the Udayagiri and the Khandagiri hills.[1] It is certain that though these two caves now look like a two-storeyed monument, originally they were two different excavations with different entrances and excavated at different periods. Both were intended to be dormitories

[1] *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. 8. 640.*

and consist of a number of small chambers behind the verandah. In the Svargapurī or the upper storey the roof of the verandah has fallen long ago, exposing its interior to the decomposing action of the weather. It is smaller in size than the Mañchapurī or the lower storey and consists of three doors leading to chambers inside. There was a band of carving over the lintels of the doors which has now almost worn out.

In front of the rock, between the upper storey and lower storey, there was another carving or frieze, mostly obliterated, consisting of a wide railing pattern which does not seem to have been noticed by previous writers. This railing is exactly like the great railing around the Buddhist shrines at Bodh-Gaya, Barhut and Sanchi, consisting of pillars or uprights, square in section, with three double convex cross-bars between each pair of pillars and over all a long architrave, round on the top. The Svargapurī or the upper part of the cave was excavated by the principal queen of king Khāravela.

The lower part of this cave, called Mañchapurī by some writers, is in a much better state of preservation, as it had remained buried for long centuries and was excavated and cleaned in recent times. The floor of this cave is nearly 20 feet below the surrounding ground level. In this cave there are two side-rooms on the sides of the verandah, which are supported by heavy pillars. Along the back and the sides of the verandah runs a stone bench for the use of the monks. Each of the five doorways shows the prevalence of Persepolitan architecture ; on each of the pilasters there is a cruciform capital on which are seated winged lions. These miniature

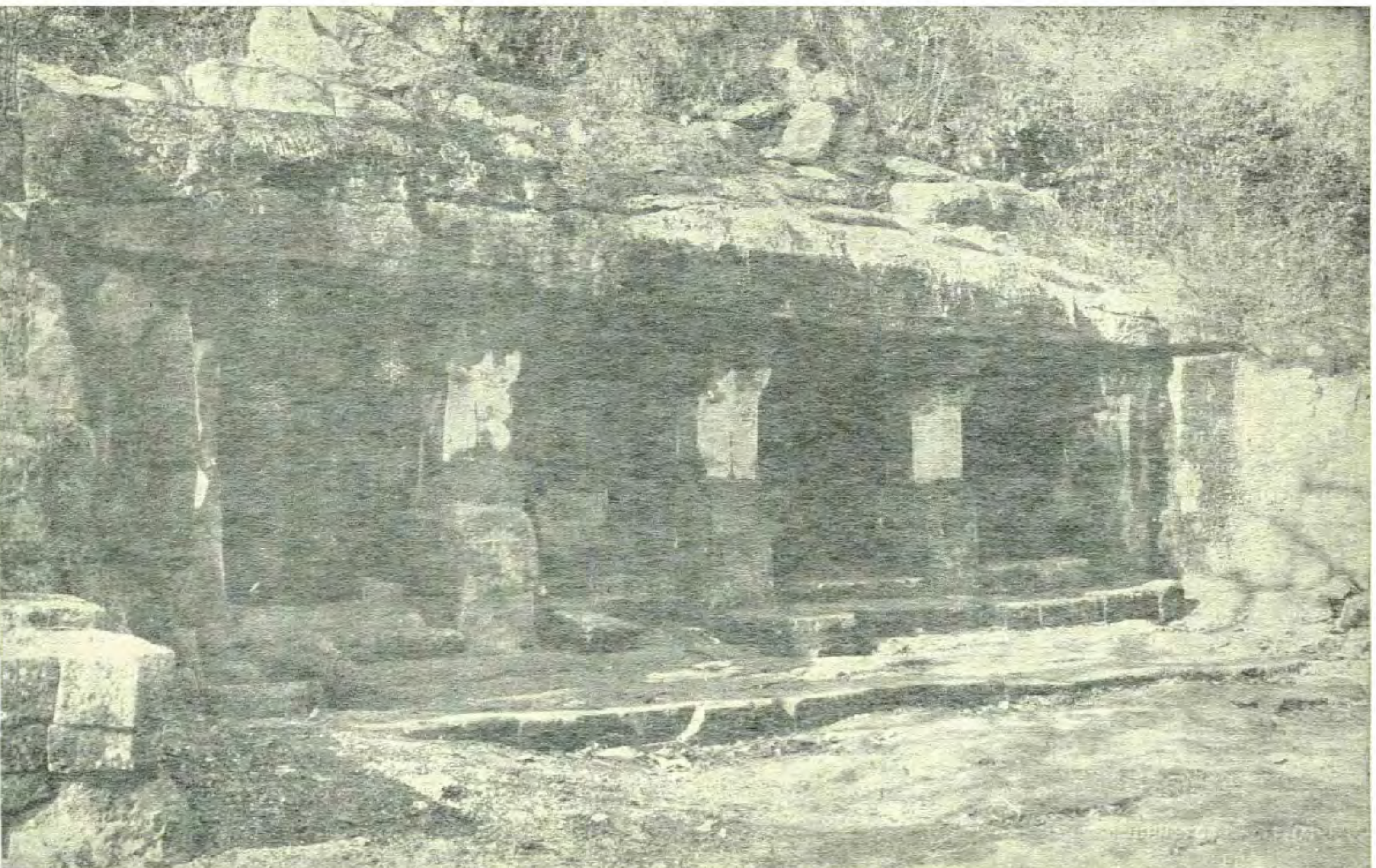
pilasters look as if they support arches, consisting of a raised semicircular band, bearing on it a procession of animals or arabesque ornaments. In addition to these carvings there is a long straight raised band running along the centre of the verandah bearing on it the railing pattern. In this cave there are a number of carvings in the space between this railing and the roof consisting of males and females standing with hands clasped in adoration and above them a pair of dwarfs carrying a bell slung from a pole on their shoulder and to their right the symbol of the Sun. To the right of this group is an elephant indicating the royal rank of the personages and over it the figure of a Vidyādhara, scattering flowers from the sky. According to Sir John Marshall, these sculptures are of poor and coarse workmanship, but that in comparison with the bas-reliefs of Barhut, the carvings in this cave show a decided advance in depth of relief and plastic treatment of figures.[1] There are several figures of *dvārapālas* in this cave, but they are very much worn out in comparison with similar figures in the Rāṇī Nūr Gumphā.

According to the same authority the next cave in the chronological order is the Anantagumphā on the top of the Khandagiri hill, which lies by the side of Udayagiri. This is a single-storeyed cave on the same plan as the Mañchapurī. The carvings in the verandah show the polish of the Maurya caves of the Barābar and Nāgārjuni hills. There are four doorways in the rear wall of the verandah leading to the chambers in the interior. These doors are ornamented with a Persepolitan pilaster on

1 *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 640.*

each side, supporting a round arch which bears on it human and animal figures. A three-headed snake rises from each end of each arch. In addition to these carvings the space under each arch is covered with a bas-relief; in one there is *Kamale-Kāminī* or *Śrī* or *Gaja-lakshmī*, consisting of the figure of the goddess Lakshmī standing on a lotus surrounded by a number of elephants who are pouring water over her head from vases held in their trunks. In a second, we find the chariot of the Sun-god with four horses instead of seven. On a third, we find a chief of a herd of elephants and, in a fourth, a sacred tree the base of which is surrounded by a railing of the ancient type. Over these arches is a band bearing on it another railing of the same type as in the Svargapurī and the Mañchapurī caves.

Sir John Marshall places the great rock-cut monastery of Khāravela, the Rāṇī Nūr or the Rāṇīnavara gumphā third in the chronological order. This great monastery is also double-storeyed and E-shaped. In both storeys there is a long narrow verandah supported by tall elegant pillars. The rear walls of both the verandahs are beautifully ornamented with pilasters, arches and bas-reliefs. The pillars of the upper storey are preserved in a few instances only, but those of the lower have disappeared ages ago with the roof of the verandah. In consequence, the ornamentations of the rear wall of the lower storey have suffered more severely from the action of the weather. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the style of carving in these two storeys are widely different. In the lower storey, the style is elementary and crude; but in the upper, the workmanship is relatively



Front facade of the Ananta Gumpha—Khandagiri, Puri District

free. The lower storey consists of a wide open terrace 43 feet square, on three sides of which there were three verandahs, the verandah in front being much larger than those on the sides. The main verandah possesses three doors leading to dormitories and the side verandahs leading to single or double chambers. There are Persepolitan pilasters on the sides of each doorway supporting an arch above. The space between the arches was ornamented by a raised horizontal band and the space between this band and the roof of the verandah was occupied by a long bas-relief, which has not been identified as yet. There is a door and a cell at each end of the lower verandah in addition to the seven doors in the rear wall. In front of the verandah and at each of the two rear corners of the courtyard there are two exquisitely carved little shrines without roofs. The walls of these shrines bear short and long bas-reliefs representing wild elephants sporting in a lotus pond. The upper storey is 63 feet in length and its flanks are much shorter and more irregular than the lower storey. On account of the preservation of the verandah the bas-relief of the rear walls are much better preserved. This bas-relief represents seven or eight events connected with the hunting episodes of a king, which culminated in his elopement with or the abduction of a lady. According to Sir John Marshall the upper storey of the cave is earlier than the lower storey and "the marked stylistic difference between the sculptures of the two storeys was the result of influence exercised directly or indirectly by the contemporary schools in Central and Western India."[1] The

[1] *Cambridge History of India, Vol. I*

upper storey of the Rāṇī Nūr cave possesses two or three independent sculptures at each end of the verandah, such as a warrior clad in mail, and lions. The presence of this warrior and the style of his armour led earlier writers to state that this was the image or statue of a Greek soldier. Even Sir John Marshall says: "In this connection a special significance attaches to the presence in the upper storey of a door-keeper garbed in the dress of a Yavana warrior, and of a lion and a rider near by treated in a distinctly Western-Asiatic manner, while the guardian door-keepers of the lower storey are as characteristically Indian as their workmanship is immature." The figure of the so-called Yavana warrior has suffered very severely and it is not possible to make out any of the features. The coat of mail worn is distinctly similar to that of the warrior on the Barhut railing,[1] and there are no reasons to persuade us in the 20th century that this figure should be taken to be that of a Greek warrior, simply because writers of the 19th century, when our knowledge of Indian sculpture was very immature, supposed it to be so. Besides these three cave temples, there are a number of others belonging to the same period or a slightly later date. In the Gaeṇśa Gumphā, which lies to the left of the Rāṇī Nūr Gumphā, there are two elephants, probably of the same date, in front of the widest opening between the pillars of the verandah. The series of pre-Christian caves on the Udaygiri start just at the place where the low slope of the hill begins and the first cave, one meets with, is a low cell, after which comes another cell, slightly higher, which has a typically Indo-Persepolitan doorway

[1] *Anderson—Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Part I, p. 113. P. 30.*

flanked by a couple of elephants. After the Chhota Hāthi Gumphā come a series of excavations partly double-storeyed, which contain very few ornaments. Originally there were stone-cut steps leading to the upper storeys, many of which can be used even now. Such are the Alakāpurī and Jayāvijayā caves. This series of caves rise gradually in height until the Svargapurī and Mañchapurī and the Baḍā Hāthi Gumphā with the inscription of Khāravela are reached. On two sides of and over the Hāthi Gumphā there are a number of large and small caves mostly plain and without any ornaments. To the proper right of this natural cavern there are some caves with freak shapes. One of these is designed to represent the open mouth of a tiger, and was excavated by a town judge named Subhūti or Bhūti[1] ; the other has its small and narrow entrance placed under the expanded head of a great snake, consisting of five different hoods. It was excavated by two persons named Karma and Halakhiṇā (*Sulakshaṇā*), perhaps husband and wife. There is a long bas-relief in the rear wall of the verandah of the Gaṇeśa cave, in the same style as the upper and lower verandahs of the Rāṇī Nūr Cave. The subject of the bas-relief in the Gaṇeśa Gumphā is the same as that in the Rāṇī Nūr ; but here, as in the former, the depiction is abridged. From the Baḍā Hāthi Gumphā a roadway leads down the hill and one reaches a number of plain caves near the level of the Chandka road, which are now called Haridāsa Gumphā, Jambeśvara Gumphā, etc. From the beginning of the Christian era to the 9th or 10th centuries A. D.

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. xiii, p. 165.*

no new cave temples were excavated on the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills.

The synchronism of Khāravela with the Greek King Demetrios and king Bahasatimitra of Magadha shows that the former belongs to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. According to the latest theory of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal the sequence of events of Khāravela's life is as follows :

225 B. C. New Kaliṅga dynasty of the Chedis rises.

207 B. C. Khāravela's birth.

192 B. C. Khāravela as Yuvarāja (Crown-prince).

188 B. C. Accession of Pushyamitra.

183 B. C. Khāravela's accession.

182 B. C. Śātakarṇī I ruling. Khāravela's invasion to the West up to the Kṛishṇaveṇa river.

179 B. C. Expedition of Khāravela against the Rāshṭrika and Bhojakas.

178 B. C. Extension to the capital of the Tanasuliya-vāṭa canal, originally excavated in 103 Nanda year.

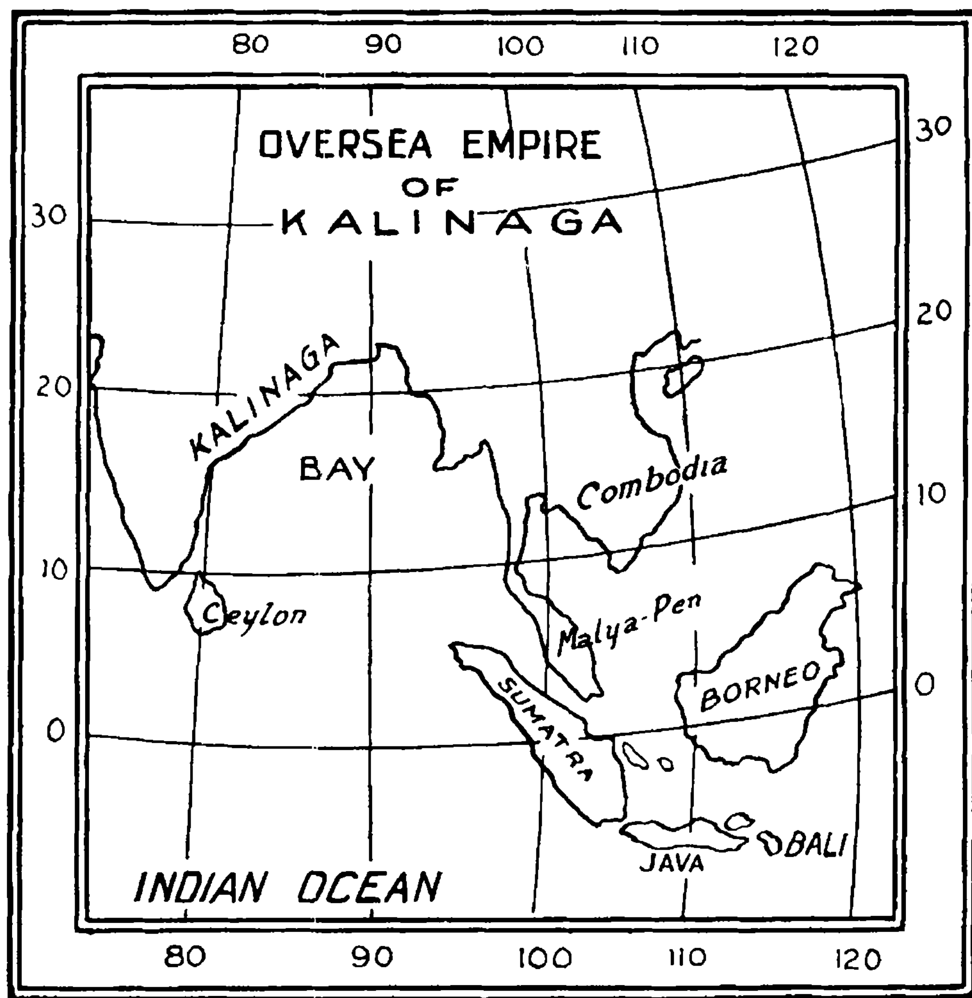
177 B. C. Khāravela's assuming imperial dignity ; his *abhiṣeka and Rāja-sūya* sacrifice.

175 B. C. Battle of Gorathagiri (probably indecisive). Retreat of Demetrios. The first *Aśvamedha* of Pushyamitra.

173 B. C. Invasion of Northern India (*Uttarāpatha*, by Khāravela.

172 B. C. Reform of Jaina worship in Kaliṅga by Khāravela.

171 B. C. Defeat of Pushyamitra (capture of Sugāṅgeya palace of Pāṭaliputra).



Oversea Empire of Kalinga

Break up of the Tamil league which had existed for 113 years.

170 B. C. Penance at the Kumāri Hill. Building constructed[1] there.

[1] *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. xiii. pp. 243-4,* The entire chapter is based on a joint article written by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and myself on the Hāthi-gumphā Inscription for the *Epigraphia Indica.*

CHAPTER VII

THE OVERSEAS EMPIRE OF KALIṄGA

It is dawning upon us slowly that in the very dawn of Indian History the people of Kaliṅga were the pioneers of Indian colonisation in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. More than half-a-century ago Kern recognised that South Indian tribes took the most prominent part in the colonization of the Indian Archipelago and among the Simbiring tribe (which means the Black) there are five sub-divisions designated Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari and Pelawi. In these five names he rightly recognised the South Indian names Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Pahlava or Pallava and Malayali or Chera. The origin of the Depari is still a subject of conjecture. The Meliyala, according to Vogel, are the Malayalis of the Malabar Coast of South India. The same authority states that "it is curious that among the other tribes of the Karo-Bataka the 'Keliṅg' origin of the Simbiring is a recognised fact. This term Keliṅg or Kiliṅg by which immigrants from the Indian continent are generally designated among the inhabitants of the Archipelago is clearly derived from *Kaliṅga*, the ancient name of the Telegu country, situated on the East coast of India between the rivers Mahānadi and Godāvarī. I may note parenthetically that the use of this term indicates that the Telegu country too must have had a considerable share in the colonisation of the Far East."[1] Vogel is too cautious and, therefore, unjust to the

[1] *Nederlandische Gesselschaft, p. 196.*

claims of Kaliṅga. It is universally admitted that *Keliṅg* or *Kliṅg* is the term applied in the Malaya Peninsula and all parts of the Indian Archipelago to denote a man from India, irrespective of the province from which he comes. It proves directly that the earliest Indians with whom the Indonesians became familiar were people from Kaliṅga. The names of the five tribes of the Simbirings of Sumatra are due to the incorporation of Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Pallava and Malayalan people in them owing to the Indians' losing hold on the islands of the Archipelago. Originally the Simbirings must have been people of Austric origin who had imbibed Negrito blood and there came a further admixture of South-Indian or Dravidian blood when the Malayas drove the Indians of the coastland of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Philippines into the hinterland. The Kaliṅgan origin of the earliest colonists from India does not depend merely on the term now applied to Indians in the Indian Archipelago, but also on definite archæological and historical evidence. During the reign of the Choḷa king, Rājendradevā Parakesarivaman, one of the younger sons of the great Choḷa conqueror, Rājendra Choḷa I *Gaṅgaikondan*, an expedition was sent to Ceylon some time before 17th August, 1055. This inscription is to be found in the Maṇimaṅgalam or the Rājagopāla-Perumal temple in the Tanjore district. It is recorded that this army captured the king Vīra-Śālamegha (*Vīra-Sāḷamegan*), who was beheaded. There was, therefore, a king of Ceylon belonging to a Kaliṅgan dynasty, which country had itself lost its independence long before that date.

Further records of the colonisation of Further India and the Indian Archipelago by the people of Kaliṅga is

to be found in the History of Burma and Siam. It is now acknowledged universally that the Talaing people of Burma, though of Mon origin, obtained their name from Tri-Kaliṅga. G. E. Harvey says, "Indeed the name 'Talaing' is probably derived from Teliṅgana, a region on the Madras coast, whence so many of them came." It is further elucidated in a note, "the derivation of Phayre's is still the best. See *Halliday, Hobson-Jobson* s. v. 'Talaing', J. B. R. S. 1914 Blagden 'Talaing.' The aetiological tale that Alaungpaya christened the people Talaing meaning 'downtrodden' is disproved by the occurrence of the name Talaing in Burmese inscription as early as 1107 (*Inscriptions* 1913-18)."[1] The term Talaing is phonetically connected with *Tri-Kaliṅga* though that form cannot yet be proved to have existed in India in the first century B. C. or A. D. The undoubted origin of the name Talaing from Tri-Kaliṅga finds a curious corroboration in the fact that the Talaing land itself was divided into the three countries : Pegu, Myaingmya and Bassein. The king Razadarit (1385-1423) divided them into 32 village circles.[2] The Talaings of Burma were formed by an admixture of the original Indonesian or Negrito population with the Mons, with a small dose of Dravidian-Kaliṅgan blood. The structure of their language is undoubtedly Mon but the name which has stuck to them through centuries was first applied to the Indian colonists settled on the coast land. The process of the absorption of the Indian colonists is described graphically by Harvey. The Indians must have settled along the coast lands

[1] Harvey—*History of Burma* 1925, p. 6
Ibid. p. 115.

before the 1st century B. C. and the original settlements from Bengal to Borneo and Tonkin were little trading principalities, such as Prome, Rangoon and Thaton. Like the European invaders of the 17th and 18th centuries the Indian colonists conquered in three different stages : the Missionary, the Trader and the Soldier. Originally they came as peaceful traders and they were welcomed by the original inhabitants as such. In the next stage they came in larger numbers and set up independent communities, for which there was ample room in this sparsely populated country. It was in the next stage that the Indians started conquering and founding new kingdoms under some energetic leader. Perhaps religion did not form a mask to colonisation and conquest as in the case of the European Christian. The question of the religion of the original colonists from India to Further India and the Indian Archipelago is still the subject of a very great controversy. Results of excavations prove that both in Further India and the Indian Archipelago the earliest Indian colonists were Hindus, *i. e.* Brahmanical in faith. Buddhism enters the stage at a much later period of the history, while Jainism does not appear at all. The absence of Jain throughout Further India and Indonesia is extremely significant in view of the fact that the province of their origin, Orissa, was a stronghold of Jainism. In fact, not a single Jain image has been recorded to have been discovered in any province of British Burma, Federated Malaya States, Siam, Annam or Cambodia. The case is slightly different in the case of Indonesia. Though Upper Indonesia has been visited from time to time by Dutch or French scholars like Krom, Finot and

Vogel the majority of the islands of the South Pacific remain unvisited by any Indologist ; yet, from time to time, claims are put forward by sensation-mongers or American scholars to connect the ancient Mayan civilisation with that of India. The connecting link or the route still remains to be discovered and two hypotheses have been put forward. The first of these is the time-honoured theory of the Mongolian origin of the American Indian. It is generally supposed that the Reds crossed from Asia to North America by the land bridge now represented by the Aleutian island or a vanished isthmus which originally joined Siberia to Alaska. The second theory is that some Asiatic Culture was carried across the South Pacific by traders. The islands of the Southern Pacific contain numerous remains of an extinct race. It is generally admitted that the Polynesian races were never sufficiently cultured to produce such monuments. Up to this time it has never been the good fortune of any Indian Archæologist or even an European Indologist to examine the ruins of Mayan cities or to explore the Archæological remains in the South Pacific. There is a continuous chain of islands from the south-western end of New Guinea through New Hebrides, Fiji, Friendly islands, Harvey or Cook Island, Pitcairn Island to the Easter Islands, up to which the Melanesian group of Austric languages extend. From the Easter islands it is not a far cry to Juan Fernandez, off the coast of the Argentine Republic. In the Easter Islands there are antiquarian remains of the type to which a certain amount of attention has been paid by Anthropologists.[1] It is not possible in

[1] Perry—*The Children of the Sun, pp. 21-55.*

the present state of our knowledge, to aver that these remains of the Southern Pacific belong to the early colonists from Kaliṅga but such a hypothesis is not, altogether, impossible.

We have to distinguish between two different stages in the colonisation of Indonesia and the Pacific islands, the first of which belongs to the period prior to the Aryanization of the great Dravidian nations of Southern India, *e. g.*, Kaliṅgas, Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas. The second stage belongs to the historical period when the Dravidian had accepted the faith of the Aryan invaders with certain modifications. Scholars have recognised Hindu or Brahmanical remains in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and some of the neighbouring islands, such as Bali and Timor; but over the greater part of Indonesia the pre-historic remains include distinct traces of a pre-historic civilisation, no connection or contact with which can be established even now. The subject has been dealt with very summarily by W. J. Perry. The subject has been divided into two chapters entitled "Culture-sequence in Oceania and Indonesia." In Oceania two distinct people are recognised :—The dark skinned negroid people of the Solomon island, New Hebrides and Fiji and the light skinned people of Polynesia or the rest of the Pacific Islands with the exception of Micronesia. These two areas divide the culture of Oceania. Throughout Polynesia one finds stone monuments and stone statues or images which are not used, in the majority of cases, by the present inhabitants of these islands. In the case of the Easter Islands such monuments are quite beyond the constructive power of the present inhabitants or their implements.

The Easter Islands are isolated from the rest of Polynesia but here one finds" "Stone houses massively built, and placed in rows of streets : platforms from 200 to 300 ft. in length and 15 ft. to 20 ft. high, on the outer or seaward side, constructed of hewn stones dovetailed together ; stone statues 3 ft. to 30 ft. high, representing the upper portion of a human figure, sometimes standing on the platform and sometimes on the ground ; and sculptured rocks, the subject being generally the human face. On the heads of the larger pillars crowns made from a red volcanic stone were fitted."[1] "One peculiar feature of these statues is the disproportionate size of the ears" which we find in Jain and Buddhist images of India from the Gupta period downwards. The platforms on which these images were placed are pyramidal in shape and the people who built them were agriculturists of an advanced type as the remains of an irrigation system found on the island prove.[2] Similar stone ruins have been discovered in Hawaii where there are huge pyramidal temples and stone tombs made for kings. The modern inhabitants of Hawaii use irrigation for cultivation. Similar stone images and buildings have been found on the uninhabited Necker Island, 450 miles north-west of Honolulu, and in Fanning's Island near Christmas Island. But the remains on the Marquesas group bear strong resemblance to those of the Easter Islands." Several statues with points of resemblance to the remains of the Easter Islands have been found in the Marquesas. In Nuku-hiva, Porter saw a statue of stone, about the height of a man, but larger in proportion in every way, round which the dead were

1 W. H. R. Rivers—*Survival in Sociology*—*Sociological Review 1913.*

2 *The Children of the Sun, p. 22.*

exposed in canoes. This figure differed from those of Easter Islands in being in the squatting position, but a greater similarity is present in a statue found by Christian in the Island of Riva-oa. This is about 8 ft. high, and in the position of the arms and general characters of the features definitely resembles the statues of Easter Island.... The ma'ae or sacred places had two or more platforms, but there is no evidence of a pyramidal form.[1] The statues were placed on pyramidal altars and the platforms were surrounded with upright stones. There are traces of a considerable irrigation system which are also to be found in the Paumotus.[2] In the Pitcairn Island foundations of stone temples were discovered while stone images or statues have been found at Raivaivai of the Austral Islands. In the case of the latter the existence of these great stone statues is a puzzle. In the Society Islands, Tahiti possesses a large number of these pyramidal structures. Captain Cook describes one of them :—"It is a long square stone-work built pyramidically ; its base is 267 ft. by 67 ft.; at the top it is 250 ft. by 8 ft. It is built in the same manner as we do steps leading up to a Sun-dial or fountain erected in the middle of a square, where there is a flight of steps on each side. In this building there are eleven of such steps, each step is about 4 ft. in height, and the breadth 4 ft. 7 in., but they decrease both in height and breadth from the bottom to the top. On the middle of the top stood the image of a bird carved in wood ; near it lay the broken one of a fish carved in stone. There was no hollow or cavity in the inside, the whole being filled up with stone.

1 *Ibid.,* Rivers-*Folklore, pp. 295-96.*

2 *Children of the Sun, p. 22.*

The outside was faced partly with hewn stones and partly with others, and these were placed in such a manner as to look very agreeable to the eye. Some of the hewn stones were 4 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 4 in., and 15 in. thick, and had been squared and polished with some sort of an edge tool. The east side was enclosed with a stone wall—a piece of ground, in form of a square, 360 ft. by 354 ft.—in this were growing several cypress trees and plantains. Round about this marae were several smaller ones all going to decay, and on the beach between them and the sea lay scattered up and down a great quantity of human bones. Not far from the great marae were two or three pretty large altars, where lay the skull bones of some hogs and dogs."[1]

Polynesian monuments and images of the class described above should be carefully distinguished from Megalithic monuments like upright stones and stone circles which belong either to the Palæolithic or the Neolithic ages. In Fiji there are stone tombs in the island of Rotumah and there are irrigated terraces opposite Viti Levu. In the Chatham Islands there are stone causeways and walls. The Maori of New Zealand preserve traditions of a people called the Maruiwi or Moriori who built forts with moats and ramparts.[2] A Bronze bell of the type used in Hindu worship was found in the North Island and described by Crawfurd in 1867.[3]

Traces of ancient stone walls and buildings are now being discovered in New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, New Guinea and other islands. Perry is of opinion that in

1 *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, 1896, pp. 38-9.*

2 *Children of the Sun, pp. 24-27.*

3 *Ibid., p. 26.*

Micronesia, specially in the Caroline group more remains are found of the vanished people of the old civilisation than in any other island of Polynesia. All over the Mariannes, in the seats of the native population before their discovery by the white men, there exist certain pyramids and truncated cones, on the top of which are placed semi-estufas, *i. e.*, half-spherical bodies. These cones or pyramids on the island of Guahan do not exceed 3 ft. in height, the diameter of the curious pieces on the tops being about 2 ft. Amongst the natives these go by the name of *Houses of the Ancients.*[1]

In the eastern part of Ponape is the harbour of Metalanim which is described as a regular Venice. One of the ruins there is described in the following words : "The water-front is faced with a terrace built of massive basalt blocks about 7 ft. wide, standing out more than 6 ft. above the shallow waterway. Above us we see a striking example of immensely solid cyclopean stone-work frowning down upon the waterway, a mighty wall formed of basaltic prisms laid alternately lengthwise and crosswise after the fashion of a *check and log* fence, or, as masons would style it, *Headers and Stretchers.*

"The left side of the great gateway yawning overhead is about 25 ft. in height and the right some 30 ft., overshadowed but hidden from view by the dense leafage of a huge ikoi tree, which we had not the heart to demolish for its extreme beauty.

"Here in the olden times the outer wall must have been uniformly of considerable height, but has now in several places fallen into lamentable ruin, whether from earth-

1 F. W. Christian—*The Caroline Islands,* p. 19.

quake, typhoon, or the wear and tear of long, long ages. Somewhat similar in character would be the semi-Indian ruins of Java and the cyclopean structures of Ake and Chichen-Itza in Yucatan. A series of rude steps brings us into a spacious courtyard, strewn with fragments of fallen pillars, encircling a second terraced enclosure with a projecting frieze or cornice of somewhat Japanese type. The measurement of the outer enclosure, as we afterwards roughly ascertained, was some 185 ft. by 115 ft., the average thickness of the outer wall being 15 ft., height varying from 20 to nearly 40 ft. The space within can only be entered by the great gateway in the middle of the western face, and by a small ruinous portal in the north-west corner. The inner terraced enclosure forms a second conforming parallelogram of some 85 ft. by 75 ft. ; average thickness of wall, 8 ft. ; height of walls, 15 to 18 ft. In the centre of a rudely paved court lies the great central vault or treasure chamber identified with the name of an ancient monarch known as Chau-Te-reu, or Cahu-te-Leur, probably a dynastic title like that of Pharaoh or Ptolemy in ancient Egypt."[1]

According to an old chronicle the origin of these ruins is very obscure. The oldest inhabitants do not possess any information about them and there is no tradition in the locality as to their origin. Such Cyclopean ruins can be associated only with the *Gabr-bands* in dried river courses of Biluchistan such as those in the Hāab valley.[2] Traces of this ancient civilisation also exist in Yap, Lele of Kusaie in the Caroline group and other islands. Sum-

1 *Ibid., pp. 79-80.*

2 *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-04. pp, 194, 201, Pl. LX-LXI.*

ming up Perry states :—"This Survey establishes the fact that in the past the population of Oceania erected stone buildings, carved stone images, and practised irrigation or terraced cultivation or both. The megalith-building population is not reported in every group of Oceania…… ……On the whole the civilisation of Oceania, judging from the crafts of stone-working and irrigation, has suffered a considerable decline, so that the present-day communities live alongside remains beyond their capacity to construct."[1]

It is apparent from this description that a highly civilised race colonised different parts of widely different groups of Oceania at some remote period. The present population is not a degenerate descendant of that civilised and virile race but some other people who have swamped out their real descendants but have failed even to profit by their example and decadent knowledge. Such an example is always to be met with in Indonesia proper which was also colonised by Dravidians but which continued to be within the zone of Indo-Dravidian influence long after the Aryanisation of the Dravidians of India. Perry is of opinion that signs of the beginnings of civilisations in Indonesia are far more difficult to interpret than those of Oceania because Indonesia has been overrun by many strange races. In the first place, the Brahmanic influence in Indonesia is not very old and does not go back beyond the 1st or the 2nd centuries of the Christian era. The evidence of the Indian script in Burma, Siam, Java, Bali and Bugi points to a still later date, but there is a class of evidence totally neglected by Indologists, which Perry has recorded. In India and

1 *Children of the Sun, pp. 31-2.*

Europe the majority of scholars are still obsessed with the idea that the Dravidians were the aborigines of India and were savages or primitive people when they came to this country. They, therefore, look upon Indonesia as being colonised by Aryans either two centuries before or after the birth of Christ. The mass of evidence recorded by Perry points to a certain connection between the pre-Aryan civilisation of a part at least of Indonesia and that of Mohen-jo-daro. This evidence falls like that of the Chalcolithic culture of Mohen-jo-daro into four different classes :—

I. Methods of disposal of the dead,

II. The use of or the worship of the phallic-emblem without the *Āghrapaṭṭa* or *Yonīpaṭṭa.*

III. The use of irrigation and stone masonry which may be termed Cyclopean, and

IV. The use of ancient glass, porcelain and *faience.*

To distinguish between the Aryan culture of Indonesia and its predecessors is indeed extremely difficult and only certain indications recorded by Perry enables us to locate the difference. For example, in the case of methods of the disposal of the dead, it is stated that: "The civilisation of Minahassa is likewise ascribed by native tradition to strangers; people who sometimes placed their dead in rock-cut tombs, sometimes in large monoliths hollowed out at the top." According to the same authority, Herr A. C. Kruyt, "These strangers moved through Central Celebes, they have left unmistakable traces of their presence, partly in the form of stone-images, dolmens, mcnoliths and phallic emblems, and partly in the shape of a number of pottery urns buried in the ground

in which they put the ashes of their cremated dead."[1] The burials in rock-cut tombs and dolmens ally these people with those of Southern India who used similar rock-cut tombs and cairns in Southern India and incidentally with the tomb of the girl discovered by me at Mohen-jo-daro in December 1922.[2] The urn-burials are far more important, as they connect those people of Indonesia with the unknown civilised race of Mohen-jo-daro who practised the burial of ashes in urns with pointed bottoms in the last phase of their existence. It is true that urn-burials were practised by Buddhist monks, *e. g.*, Kanheri, Amarāvatī and Pagan, but this seems to be a survival of the pre-Aryan or non-Aryan custom of burying ashes in urns.

The discovery of the phallic-emblems in Celebes is far more interesting, because small terracotta phallic-emblems were discovered by me at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23 and by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni at Harappa in 1923-24. These terracotta emblems are quite different from the early natural *liṅgas* of Mathurā or Guḍimallam. They are representations of the emblem of Virility in relief against a small plaque barely two inches in length. The phallus worship of these pre-Aryan civilizators of Indonesia once more ally them to the culture of the Chalcolithic people of the Indus Valley.

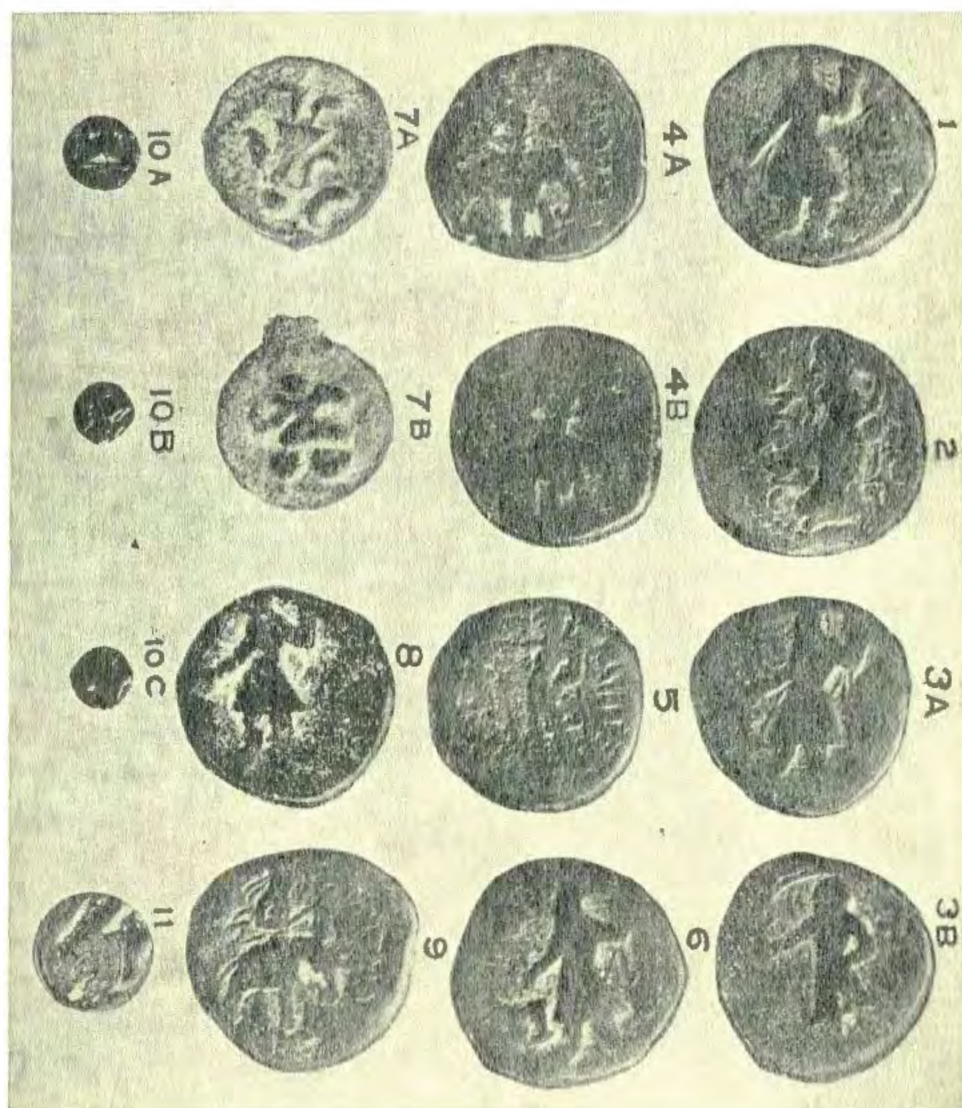
In the foregoing pages enough has been said in quotations from different works about irrigation, terraced cultivation and food products, now unknown in Indonesia. In Indonesia and India proper the irrigation of the

1 *Children of the Sun*, pp. 39-40.

2 See the Photographs published by Sir John Marshall in *The Illustrated London News*, for September 20, 1924.

pre-Aryans have been lost sight of in the secluded valleys of now deserted Baluchistan. A further study of dams, channels, sluices in Oceania and Indonesia is required before they can be compared with the Gabrabands of Baluchistan. The descriptions of the terraced cultivation reminds me of similar terraces discovered by me at Ghaibi-daro on the border of British India and Baluchistan.

The discovery of glass and porcelain in Indonesia is far more interesting, as it supplies the fourth and the most definite link with the pre-Aryan colonizators of Indonesia and the Chalcolithic people of the Indus Valley. Glass was known in the Copper age in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan as proved by the discoveries of Major Mockler in the Pre-historic *dambs* of Baluchistan and the excavations of Mr. H. Cousens at Brahmanabad-Mansura. The Mockler collection in the Indian Museum at Calcutta contains beautifully tinted glass, which is certainly not the product of amateur efforts. The discovery of *Faience* at Mohen-jo-daro, both blue and white, by me in 1922-23 and in subsequent years by others, led to the recognition of the large bangles discovered by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni at Harappa in 1920-21 as pure *Faience*. I am suspicious of the term porcelain used by Perry and others, and I think that this porcelain may turn out to be *Faience* after all. That this strange civilisation of Oceania and Indonesia is earlier and quite separate from that of the Aryan civilisation of Indonesia is apparent from the statements of writers on Indonesian antiquities. Perry says that "It is certain that the two have certain elements in common, such as irrigation, the working of



(10A)
(10B) Ganga Coins 3.
10C)
(11) Gajapati 1

(7A) Tanka Coins,
(7B) Puri Kushans
(8) Imperial Great Kushan, Kaniska (K4)
(9) Imperial Great Kushan, Four-armed Siva, Huviska (H2)

(4A) Imperial Great Kushan, Huviska
(4B) (H)
(5) Imperial Great Kushan, Kaniska (K3)
(6) Imperial Great Kushan, One of the "Seven Coins," Kaniska (K)

(1) Imperial Great Kushan, Kaniska (K5)
(2) God on cloud, Huviska (H 3)
(3A) Imperial Great Kushan,
(3B) Huviska (K2)

metals and stone-carving. But in one respect it is possible to distinguish between the Hindu civilisation of Java and that responsible for cultural progress in Oceania ; the Hindus of Java never made megalithic monuments of the dolmen or stone circle type... of late years dolmens have been discovered in Java, as well as images of the Polynesian type."[1] The culture contacts of the Indus Valley civilisation have not been fully established as yet. In order to proceed in this direction it will be necessary to distinguish between the earlier age of pure megaliths and dolmens and the later period in which dolmens were used as burial places by a subsequent race. Then it may be possible to find out how the Oceanic and Indonesic civilizators were connected with the civilisation of the Indus Valley.

The Dravidian people can be traced in a long unbroken line from Crete and Lycia to the Indus Valley and the south of India, at least culturally. It would not be strange at all to find that the Chalcolithic civilisation of these people extended as far as the Easter Islands and perhaps to Peru and Mexico. In my opinion the people of Kaliṅga, who have been proved to be the pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia and Oceania, are probably the very same people whom the Modern barbarians of the pacific and Indian Oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilized them and taught them the rudiments of culture.

1 *Children of the Sun, p. 40.*

CPAPTER VIII

KALIṄGA ANP ORISSA IN THE SCYTHIAN AND GUPTA PERIODS

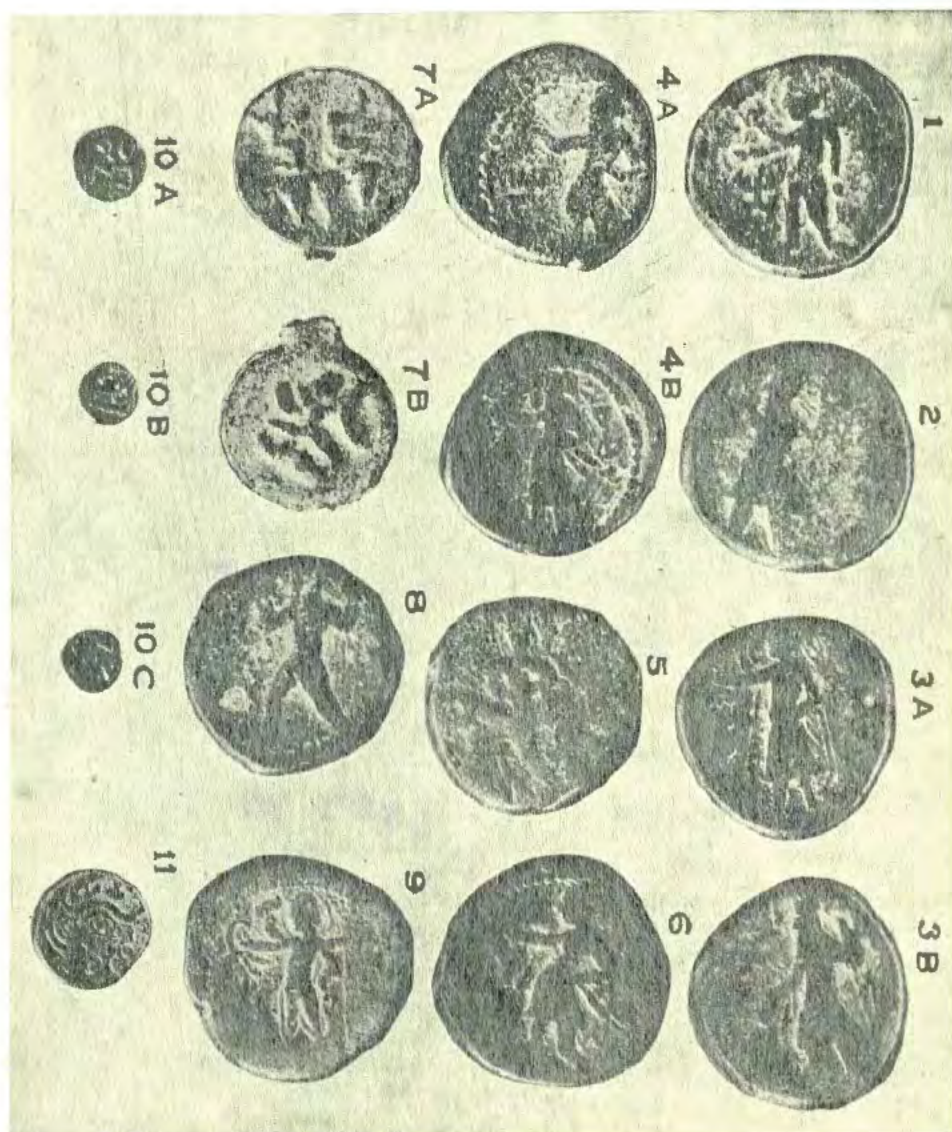
In the period when Northern and Western India was being convulsed by repeated invasions of barbarians, the upper part of the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal remained completely enveloped in darkness. We do not know anything of the history of Kaliṅga and Orissa after the fall of the dyanasty of Khāravela till the rise of the Śailodbhavas in the 7th century A. D. We have no other alternative but to recount the traditional history of Orissa which was recast about a thousand years afterwards. The traditional accounts of Orissa are noι represented by the *Mādalā Pānji* of the temple of Jagannātha of Puri. *Mādalā* means a drum, and the records of the temple of Jagannātha are called so, because, they are tied together in the form of round bundles resembling the drum, called *Mādal* in India. In these palm-leaf records each palm-leaf is not separated into two parts as is usually done with other palm-leaves used for writing books but are tied at one end instead of being held together by a string which passes through a hole in the middle of each. Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, B. A., F. A. S. B., has summarised all informations about these records in 1927. According to him, "The Mādalā Pāñjis includs all classes of records relating to the Temple of Jagannātha, such as inventories of articles in the stores, duties of different classes of temple servants, routine of ceremonies, copies

of orders of the Gajapati Mahārājās of Orissa who are the hereditary trustees of the Temple, and the annals of these Mahārājās. This last section of the Mādalā Pāñji was first brought to the notice of the students of history by A. Stirling in his 'An Account—Geographical, Statistical and Historical—of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack,' published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825."[1] Mr. Chanda notes that "It is said that in the beginning of the Kaliyuga, 18 kings of the Somavaṁśa or the lunar dynasty beginning with Yudhishthira ruled for 3,781 years. In the reign of Śobhana Deva, the 17th king of this dynasty, Raktabāhu, the Amir (*amurā*) of the Mughal Pādshāh (Patishā) of Delhi, invaded Orissa and ravaged the kingdom. According to one manuscript, C, Raktabāhu, the Mughal from Delhi, came across the Sea in a ship (*Jahāja*), Śobhana Deva fled to the Jhāḍakhaṇḍa where he was succeeded by Chandrakara Deva. The Mughals held the kingdom for 35 years. Yajātikeśarī then siezed the kingdom and is said to have reigned for 52 years up to Śakāvda 448 (A. D. 526). Stirling and Bhavānī Charan call this Raktabāhu a Yavana, but the latter refers to a Mughal invasion in the reign of Nirmala Deva, the grandfather of Śobhana Deva, I have not been able to trace the manuscript of the *Rājacharitra* used by Stirling. As stated above, none of the manuscripts I have hitherto examined are so called. As in all and in the one used by Bhabānī Charan, the foreigners who invaded Orissa in the 5th century A. D. are called Mughals, it may be safely concluded that the sections relating to the pre-Mughal period of

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIII, 1927, p. 10.*

these records were first compiled in the Mughal period."[1] The summary of these records as reproduced by Rama Prasad Chanda, Bhabānī Charan Bandyopādhyāya and A. Stirling tend to show that in these records is preserved the account of one or more foreign invasions of Orissa. The term *Mughal* may be taken to mean a foreigner in Oṛiyā, just as the same term came to mean a non-Indian Musalman in the 18th century. The traditional account is certainly incorrect, as Chanda has proved with regard to the mediaeval kings of Orissa. Inspite of their pretended superiority in Sanskrit scholarship, Oriya scholars have failed to notice in their national chronicle, the Pauranic account of the thirty-two kings of Kaliṅga who intervened between the Mahābhārata war and the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda. Śobhana Deva and his grandfather Nirmala Deva may or may not be fictitious names, but we may accept with caution the account of a foreign invasion of Orissa. There is a certain amount of corroboration of a foreign invasion of Orissa in the period intervening between that of the overlords of Kaliṅga and the rise of Yayātikeśarī or Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti in the 11th Century A. D. We now know the history of Orissa pretty accurately from the beginning of the 7th century and, therefore, it is possible for us to state with a tolerable amount of certainty that this foreign invasion did not take place after the time of the Śailodbhava prince, Mādhavarāja II. The corroborative evidence I have spoken of above is a class of copper coins, termed "Puri Kushan" by Numismatists in India, without much reason. These coins were current in Orissa and Chhota Nagpur up to a fairly late date. They

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol.XIII, 1927, pp.13-14.*



(10A) (10B) (10C) { Ganga Coins 3

(11) Gajapati 1

(7A) (7B) { Tanka Coins, Puri Kushans

(8) Imperial Great Kushan, Kaniska (K4)

(9) Imperial Great Kushan, Four-armed Siva, Huviska (H 2)

(4A) (4B) { Imperial Great Kushan, Huviska (H)

(5) Imperial Great Kushan, Kaniska (K 3)

(6) Imperial Great Kushan, One of the "Seven Coins," Kaniska (K)

(1) Imperial Great Kushan, Kaniska (K5)

(2) God on cloud, Huviska (H3)

(3A) (3B) { Imperial Great Kushan, Huviska (K2)

are generally uninscribed, but one or two specimens, which it was my good fortune to describe, bore the word *Tañka* in character of the 8th Century A.D.[1] These coins are very rude in appearance. The late Dr. V. A. Smith was of opinion that "They may have been issued by rulers of Kaliṅga in the fourth or fifth century, and it is possible they may have been struck only for use as temple offerings. All Numismatists acknowledge that they exhibit a reminiscence of the characteristic Kushan type."[2] The latest described hoard of these coins was discovered on the Northern slope of the Rakha hills in the Singbhum district in 1917. The majority of the coins show the standing figure of a man holding a crescent in his left hand, which reminds one very strongly of the figure of the standing king on the obverse of Imperial Kushan coinage. A similar figure, with or without the crescent, is to be found on the reverse. Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, I. C. S., C. S. I., described the hoard from the Rakha[3] mines. The term "Puri Kushan" was applied to these coins by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, who examined the earliest known specimens found in the Gurbai Salt Factory at Manikpatna in the Puri district. In 1858 a hoard of similar coins was found at Purushottampur in the Ganjam district and described in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

Dr. Hoernle describes the Puri Kushan coinage and classifies them as follows :—

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, 1919, pp. 83-84, pl. I, 3.* A hoard of similar coins was discovered recently in the Mayurbhanj State.

2 *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 64-65.*

3 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, 1919, pp. 73-81.*

Class I—No crescent on either side.

Class II—With crescent on the reverse in the left top of the field.

Class III—With crescent on reverse in right top of field.

Class IV—With crescent on both obverse and reverse.

Class V—With crescent on head of the reverse figure.[1]

Since then a new type have been discovered in which one-side of the coin is occupied with three acute pyramids and below it the word *Taṅka* in characters of the 8th century A. D.

The occurrence of this type of the coinage from Singhbhum to Ganjam very probably indicates influences of the Kushans. We know that Magadha was included in the empire of the great Kushans and, therefore, it could not be unscientific to assume that the so-called Mughal invasion of Orissa was really the conquest of the country by the Kushan foreigners.

A hoard of coins recently discovered in Mayurbhanj State contains 282 copper coins among which 170 were Puri Kushans and 112 Imperial Great Kushans of Kāṇishka and Huvishka. There were seven coins with the figure of the king standing by the side of an altar on the obverse and the standing figure of the Sun-god on the reverse. The legend on both sides is in Greek.[2] Thirty-three coins of the same king of the same type but with the Fire-god on the reverse and the legend in Greek script but in the old Persian language come next.[3] Three coins of the same king

1 *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895, p. 63.*

2 V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 71, no. 17.*

3 *Ibid., p. 72, no. 24.*

15

and of the same type but with the goddess NANA[1] on the reverse come third. Fourteen coins of the same king and the same type bear the figure of the Wind-god, OADO, on the reverse.[2] The coins of Kāṇiskha come to an end with ten coins of the same type bearing the figure of the four armed Śiva on the reverse.[3] The series of coins of Huvishka begin with the type in which the figure of the king is riding on an elephant and the legend is in the Greek script but the old Persian language. Twenty-nine coins bear the figure of the Moon god,MAO, on the reverse.[4] Two coins of this type bear the figure of Herakles[5] and one coin that of the Moon-god. Another coin of the same type bears the figure of four-armed Śiva on the reverse.[6]

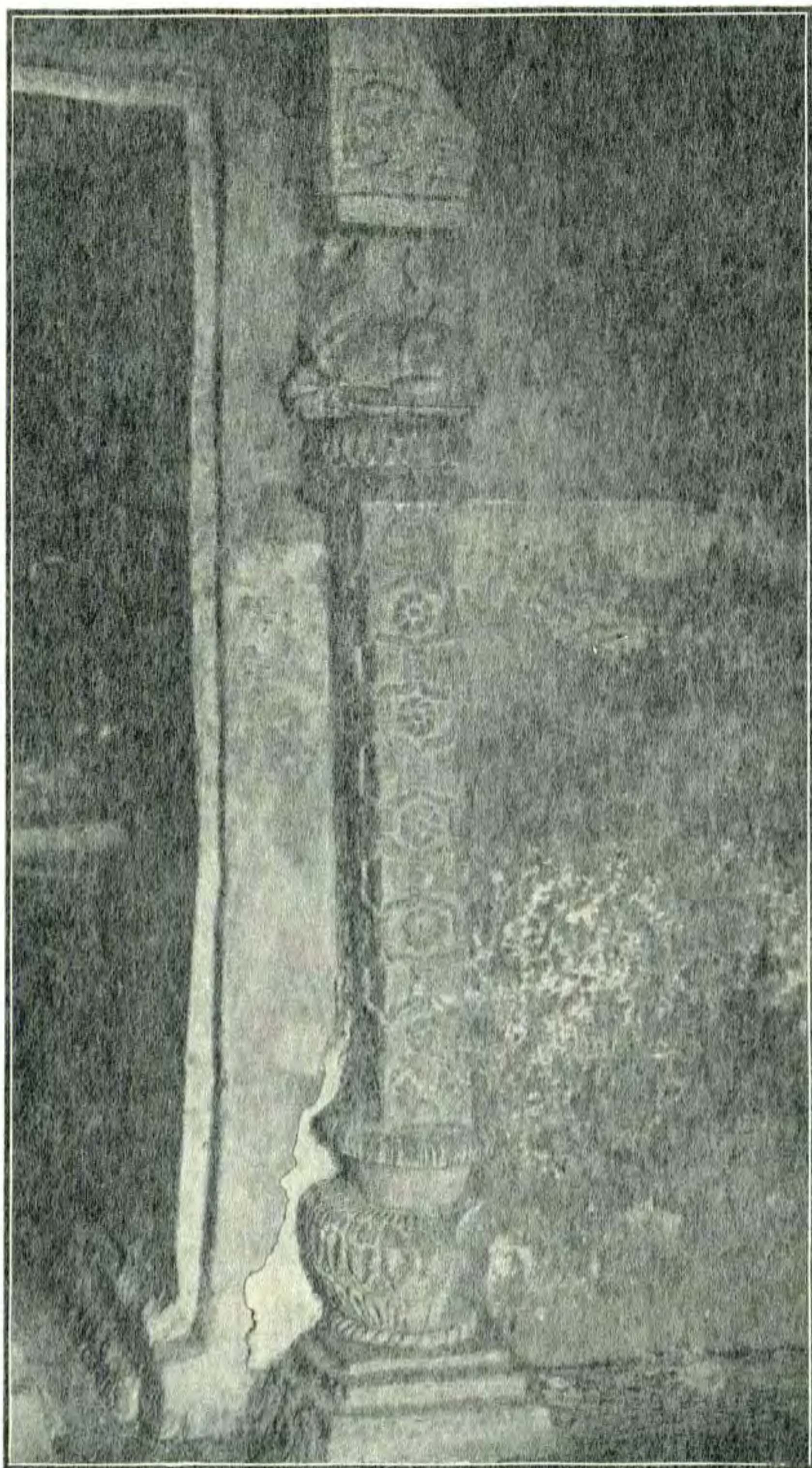
There was only one coin of the type in which the king is seated on clouds with the figure of the Sun-god, MIORO or MITHRO, on the reverse.[7] Another of the same type bears on the reverse the figure of the Fire-god.[8] six of these coins show the king seated on a throne but half of them bear the figure of the Sun-god and the remaining three that of the Moon-god on the reverse.[9] It is quite possible that when Northern and Southern Bihar were annexed to the empire of the great Kushans, Orissa

1 *Ibid., p. 73, no. 30.*
2 *Ibid., p. 74, no. 60.*
3 *Ibid., no. 67.*
4 *Ibid., p. 80, no. 27.*
5 *Ibid., p, 79, no. 26.*
6 *Ibid., p, 80, no. 37.*
7 *Ibid., p. 82, no. 53.*
8 *Ibid., no, 47.*
9 *Ibid., nos. 57 and 59.*

and the Eastern Sea-board as far as the Rushikulyā and the Lāṅguliyā were also conquered.

We have no materials even to present a chronology of the history of the three provinces of Kaliṅga during the Gupta period. Nothing is known about the condition of Orissa from the third to the end of the sixth century A. D. Samudragupta, in his Southern campaign, chose to neglect the more practicable route to the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā *Doab* along the Eastern Coast through South-western Bengal and followed the extremely difficult route through the Jubbulpore and Raipur districts of the Central Provinces. If the kings mentioned in L. 19 of the inscription on the Allahabad pillar are arranged in geographical order, then he conquered Mahendra of Kośala, *i. e.* Mahākośala or Dakshiṇa-Kośala, *i. e.*, the Southern part of the Jubbulpore district and the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in the Central Provinces and entered the Eastern part of the great Gondwana forests now represented by the Chhattisgaḍh Division and the Orissa States of Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Karond. Most probably he emerged along the old road through Raigaḍh, Koragaḍh, Naurangpur and Kotpad into the Ganjam district. The Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra appears to me to be the same as that mentioned in the Ganj and Nachna inscriptions, though Messrs. K. N. Dikshit and Jouveau Dubreuil hold other views,[1] I believed, sometime ago that Samudragupta did not enter the Ganjam district but I find that he fought with a chief named Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭura. This place has been identified by M. Jouveau Dubreuil with Kothoor in Ganjam. Evidently there is

[1] *Epi. Ind. Vol, XVII, p. 362 ; Gupta Empire and its Culture, pp. 16-7.*



Indo-Persepolitan pilaster—Ananta Gumpha
Khandagiri, Puri District

some mistake in the arrangement of names at this place of the Allahabad inscription because Maṇṭarāja of Koraḷa and Mahendra of Pishṭapura are mentioned before Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭura. Kothoor is in the Ganjam district while Pishṭapura is modern Pittapuram in the Godāvarī district. So the other alternative is that a confederacy of Southern kings met Samudragupta just as he emerged out of the Eastern Ghats into the coast and the first kings met were the chiefs of Koraḷa and Pittapuram and Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭura was defeated by him afterwards. Unfortunately, Koraḷa cannot be identified. Eraṇḍapalle and Devarāshṭra the chiefs of which, Damana and Kubera, were defeated by Samudragupta, are also princes whose territories lay within the province of Kaliṅga proper. Eraṇḍapalli is mentioned in the Siddhantaṁ plates of Devendravarman of Kaliṅga.[1] Devarāshṭra is also the name of a district or province in Kaliṅga. So, altogether, the following chiefs of Kaliṅga obstructed the passage of Samudragupta through their country :

(1) Svāmīdatta of Koṭṭura.
(2) Damana of Eraṇḍapalle and
(3) Kubera of Devarāshṭra.

Kusthalapura, Avamukta and Koraḷa have not been identified as yet. Very probably the three Kaliṅga kings formed a confederacy with the powerful Pallava kings of the South about whose identification and location there is no doubt :—

(1) Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī,
(2) Hastivarman of Veṅgī and

1 *Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 58-61.*

(3) Ugrasena of Pālakka (in the Nellore district of the Madras Presidency).

The invader either proceeded or receded leaving the country unchanged except for the resultant track of misery and starvation along his wake. We do not know what happened to the three provinces of Kaliṅga afterwards. Perhaps, the country remained under numerous petty chiefs who fought continuously with each other. We do not know of any attempt on the part of any other Gupta king to conquer or annex Orissa. There is no evidence, whatsoever, to prove that any part of Orissa or Kaliṅga was included in the Gupta empire. The country was distinctly within the zone of influence of Gupta political influence and culture. This is proved in the first instance by the use of the Gupta era in certain inscriptions. The date in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja is distinctly connected with the Gupta era by the use of the term "*Gaupt-ābde,*" but after the discovery of that inscription scholars considered that the Gupta era was used because Śaśāṅka himself came from a province where the Gupta era was used. But since then the discovery of a number of inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Orissa have proved that the Gupta era was used over a much larger area in North-eastern India than was hitherto proposed. I refer to the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja of the Gupta year 283 and the Arang plate of Bhīmasena II of the Gupta year 282.[1]

The Patiakella plate of the Mahārāja Śivarāja bears the second known inscription of the Gupta period discovered up to this time in Orissa. The date 283 is equal to 602-603 A.D. At this date a king named Śagguyayyana was

1 *Epi, Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 342-45.*

ruling over Southern Tosali. The titles given to this king by his feudatory are *Paramamāheśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramadevatādhidaivata*, but the king is not called a Mahārāja or Mahārājādhirāja. The family to which he belonged is called the Māna-vaṁśa. The order was issued from the camp at Vorttanoka, which cannot be identified. The feudatory who actually issued the grant, Śivarāja, is called *Mahārāja*. No description of his family is given and the village granted, Tandralvalu or Tundilvaluja was situated in the district *(Vishaya)* of Southern Tosali.[1] Dr. Sten Konow proposes to read the name of Śivarāja's suzerain as Sambhuyayya but I find that I cannot change my opinion framed twenty-four years ago after seeing the plate once more which has been presented to or acquired for the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

With the beginning of the seventh century we reach surer ground in the history of Orissa and we get a larger number of records for the construction of her ancient past. The object of the inscription of the Patiakella plate is to record the donation of the village to a large number of Brāhmaṇas by Śivarāja. The donees belonged to different *Gotras Charaṇas*. About the Māna-vaṁsa we know that it is referred to in two other inscriptions ; the Govindpur stone inscription of the Poet Gaṅgādhara of the Śaka year 1059,[2] and the Dudhpani rock inscription of Udayamāna[3]. Govindpur is in the southern part of the Nawada sub-division of the Gaya district and Dudhpani is in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar and Orissa, localities not too

1 *Ibid., pp. 285-8.*

2 *Ibid, vol. II, pp. 330-42.*

3 *Ibid., 343-7.*

far away from Orissa. No definite information is available about these Māna kings except that Varṇamāna ruled at a time when Orissa was independent under Gaṅga kings. Udayamāna is much earlier and belongs to the 8th century according to Kielhorn, but he was not a man from Orissa but from Ayodhyā.

CHAPTER IX

HARSHAVARDHANA AND THE ŚAILODBHAVAS

In the Gupta year 300-619 A. D., a king named Mādhavarāja II of the Śailodbhava family acknowledged the suzerainty of a *Mahārājādhirāja* Śaśāṅka. This was a problem presented to historians at the time of the discovery of the Ganjam plates, February 1900. The actual locality where these plates were found is not known to us. They lay in the office of the Collector of Ganjam till 1900 and were subsequently sent to the Government Central Museum, Madras. The special importance of this new inscription lay in the fact of its being dated and of the mention in it of Śaśāṅka, the celebrated adversary of the great Emperor Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj. The Śailodbhava dynasty to which Mādhavarāja II belonged was already known from the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman, which is the earliest known inscription of this dynasty, discovered at Buguda in the Ghumsur Taluka of the Ganjam district. The inscription on these plates is not dated. According to it there was a person named Pulindasena, famous among the peoples of Kaliṅga. He did not covet sovereignty for himself but worshipped Brahman. Brahman granted his wish and created the Lord Śailodbhava, apparently out of a rock (*Śilā*), who became the founder of a distinguished family. In that family was born Raṇabhīta, whose son was Sainyabhīta ; *in his family* was born Yaśobhīta, whose son was

Sainyabhīta II. The late Dr. Keilhorn at first supposed that king Mādhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhīta II, but later on when he published the fac-simile, he gave up this idea and acknowledged that Sainyabhīta II was the same person as Mādhavavarman.[1] The Ganjam plates of the Gupta year 300 supply us with a simpler genealogy by stating that the donor Mādhavarāja II was the son of Yaśobhīta and the grandson of Mādhavaraja I. The late Dr. Hultzsch was correct in stating that in the Buguda plates Sainyabhīta was a *biruda* of Mādhavarman.[2] No fac-similes of the Buguda plates were published at that time, but the late Dr. Hultzsch was of the opinion that the characters of the Buguda plates belong to a much later date than the Ganjam plates of 619 A. D. The Ganjam plates do not give the legend about the birth of Lord Śailodbhava but mention that Mādhavarāja II was born in the Śilodbhava family and that he was a subordinate chief *(Mahāsāmanta)* with the title of *Mahārāja*. The object of the inscription was to record the gift of the village of Chhavalakkhya in the district *(Vishaya)* of Kṛishṇagiri in the year of the Guptas 300.[3] The Buguda plates record the gift of the village of Puipina in Khadira-pāṭaka in the district (*Vishaya*) of Guḍḍā.[4] In the Buguda plates it is stated that Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhīta was in residence at Kaiṅgoda. The Ganjam plates state that the order was issued from the victorious camp at Koṅgoda. A third inscription of the same dynasty was discovered at

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. VII. pp. 100-101*

2 *Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 144.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 143-46.*

4 *Ibid., Vol III, pp. 41-46.*

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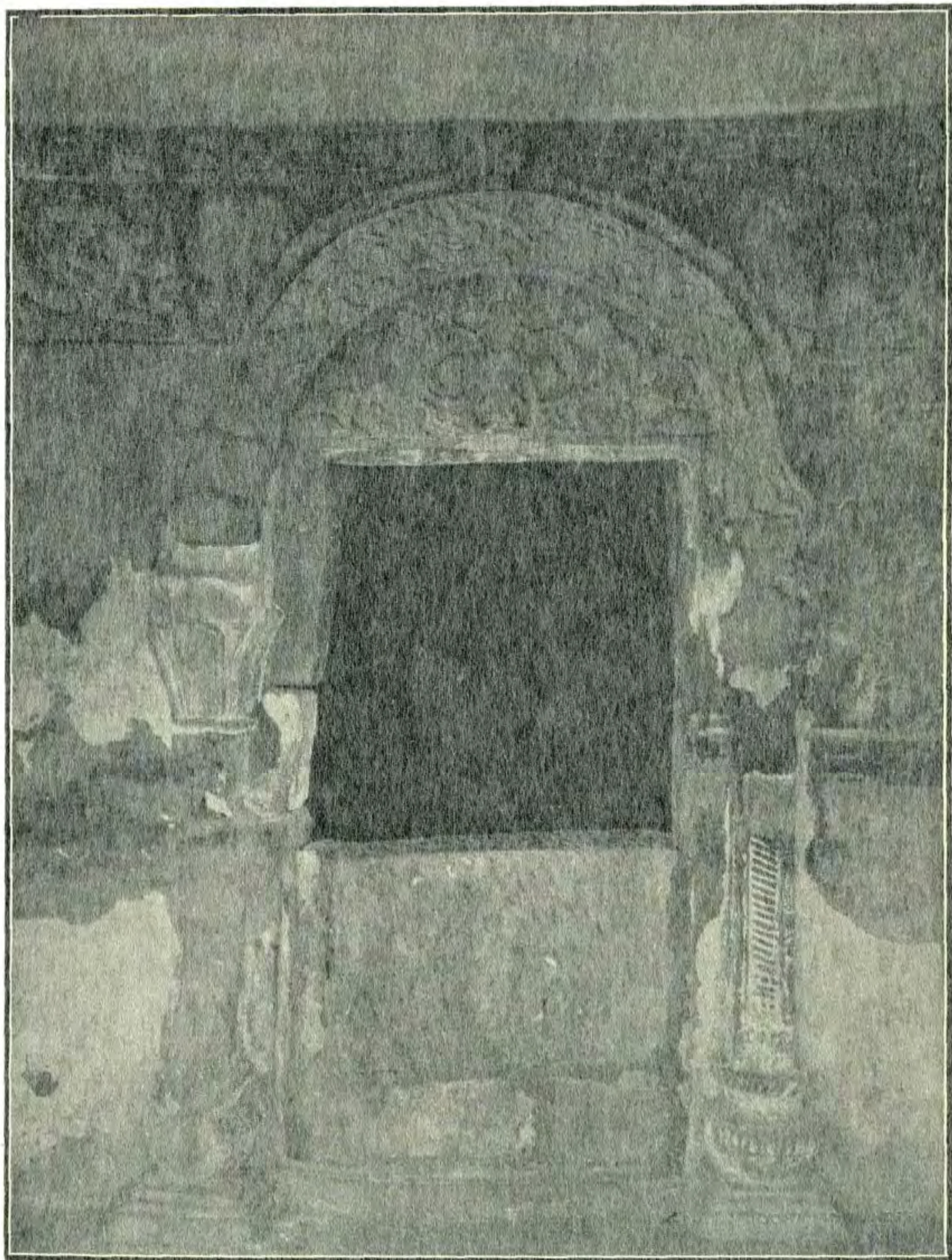
Khurda and a fourth at Parikud in the Puri district. We have, therefore, four inscriptions of this dynasty, two of which come from Southern Orissa or the Ganjam district and two others from Central Orissa or the Puri district. Out of these four inscriptions the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja carry the genealogy of the Śailodbhava dynasty farthest. In this inscription also Pulindasena is stated as being famous among the peoples of Kaliṅga. The legend about the origin of the Lord Śailodbhava is mentioned and the genealogy, in its earlier part, is a close copy of that in the Buguda plates. In the family of Śailodbhava was born Raṇabhīta, his son was Sainyabhīta I and *in his family* was born Yaśobhīta ; his son was Sainyabhīta II. Thus far the genealogy agrees with that of Buguda plates. The Parikud plates carry the genealogy two generations farther. Yaśobhīta II was the son of Sainyabhīta II and then came Madhyamarāja. The Parikud plates do not clearly indicate the relationship between Yaśobhīta II and Madhyamarāja. While Yaśobhīta II is stated to be the son (*tanuja*) of Sainyabhīta II, Madhyamarāja is simply stated to have ascended the throne of his father (*Rājyam pituḥ prāhtavān*). Madhyamarāja is stated as being born in the Śailodbhava family and to have performed the *Āśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices. The grant mentions that in this Koṅgoda *Maṇḍala*, in the division (*Bhukti*) and district (*Vishaya*) of Kaṭaka, the king granted a village the name of which has been lost. The grant was issued from Kaṭaka or Cuttack in the 26th year of the king's reign and most probably in the 88th year of the Harsha era, *i. e.*, 693 A. D. The learned South Indian Epigraphist for the Government of India, the late

Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya, could not understand the system of dating in this inscription. He mistook the date to be 28 and stated :

"From the accompanying photo-lithographic-plate it will be clear that the date here is very badly damaged. What is seen is a circle which may denote 28. It is just possible that the regnal year of the King is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *Samvatsare*."[1] It was not possible for this deceased scholar to understand that in North Indian Epigraphy at least, a circle *can not* denote 20 and that the regnal year having been expressed in words as being 26 it can not be repeated in another part of the same inscription as being 28, or two years later unless something special happened at that time. What is more probable is that the regnal year having been expressed in one place in words, the date is given in numerals at the end of the inscription in some recognised era. At this period only two eras may possibly have been used in Orissa. These are the Gupta-Valabhi era of 319-20 A. D., and the Harsha era of 605-6 A. D. Most probably the year 88 of the Parikud plates is expressed in the latter era and is equivalent to 693-4 A. D. If expressed in the Gupta-Valabhi era it must be taken to be in the fourth century of that era, *i. e.,* 388-707-8 A. D.

The fourth inscription of this dynasty is to be found on the Khurda plates, which were discovered after the publication of the Buguda plates. The late Mr. Gangā-mohan Laskar, while editing the Khurda plates, committed the signal mistake of confusing the account of the Buguda plates with that of the Khurda inscription. In the Khurda

1 *Epic. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 282, note 1.*



Doorway of tympanum of arch—*Sri* or Gaja Lakshmi—
Ananta Gumpha—Khandagiri, Puri District

inscription only three generations of kings are mentioned. Sainyabhīta I was the grandfather and Yaśobhīta the father of Mādhavarāja. It can not be understood how Mr. Laskar could bring Pulindasena, Ranabhīta and Yaśobhīta II into this dynasty, because they are not mentioned in this inscription. As in other inscriptions of this dynasty, Mādhavarāja is called "born in the Śailodbhava family" and "the master of all Kaliṅgas" in the Khurda plates. The grant was issued from the royal residence at Koṅgoda. The inscription records the grant of a village or some land belonging to the village of Āharaṇa in the district (*Vishaya*) of Thoraṇa. This inscription is not dated.[1]

We are faced with the problem of the genealogy of the Śailodbhavas in the first instance. The genealogies in the Buguda and the Parikud plates agree to a very great extent :—

BAGUDA PLATES.	PARIKUD PLATES.
Śailodbhava (*in his family*)	Śailodbhava (*in his family*)
|	|
Raṇabhīta	Raṇabhīta
|	|
Sainyabhīta I (*in his family*)	Syinyabhīta I (*in his family*)
|	|
Yaśobhīta	Yaśobhīta
	|
Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta II	Sainyabhīta II
	|
	Yaśobhita II
	Madhyamarāja

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old series, Vol. LXXIII. 1904 part I, pp. 282-6.*

The genealogies in the Ganjam and Khurda plates are exactly similar, there being only one name which is different, which is that of Mādhavarāja's grandfather :—

Khurda Plates	Ganjam Plates
Sainyabhīta	Mādhavarāja
|	|
Yaśobhīta	Yaśobhīta
|	|
Mādhavarāja	Mādhavarāja II

All four inscriptions mention the Koṅgoda country or Camp. The difficulty lies in the script. The script of the Ganjam plates of the Mādhavarāja II is the oldest. The date signifies that it belongs to the period of Harshavardhana. According to this inscription Mādhavarāja II, who was a son of Yaśobhīta and the grandson of Mādhavarāja I of the Śailodbhava family, openly declares himself to be a vassal of a King, the *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Śaśāṅka in the Gupta year *(Gaupt-ābde)* 300-619-20 A. D. In this period it is not possible to think of any other Śaśāṅka than of the much-abused Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa, whom Bāṇa, the paid court-poet of the Vardhana dynasty of Thanesar, and the orthodox Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, take peculiar delight in decrying. Śaśāṅka is introduced to us for the first time in the Harsha-charita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Immediately after the death of Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar, there was a confederacy of kings against the young Rājyavardhana II. Prabhākara's son-in-law, the Maukharī King Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman, was the ruler of Kanauj. Grahavarman had married Rajyaśrī, the sister of Rajyavardhana II and Harshavardhana. The Princess

was very young at the time of her father's death. Immediately after Prabhākara's death, a king of Mālava, whose name most probably was Devagupta, invaded the United Provinces and killed Grahavarman. The intimation of this disaster compelled Rājyavardhana II to start hastily for Kanauj. He succeeded in defeating Devagupta, if he was the King of Mālava, but he himself was killed in a duel in the camp of the King of Gauḍa. Bāṇabhaṭṭa accuses this King of Gauḍa of a breach of faith and there are reasons to suppose that this King of Gauḍa was nobody else but Śaśāṅka. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang gives us the name in Chinese. The devout pilgrim points out that Saśāṅka was a demon, who was a confirmed enemy of Buddhism. Śaśāṅka is said to have uprooted the Bodhi tree at Mahābodhi or Bodh-Gaya. For his supposed misdeeds the Chinese pilgrim thought that Śaśāṅka went to hell.[1] The narrative of the events after the death of Prabhākaravardhana proves that, as soon as the strong arm of that king was removed from the affairs of the State, the Kings of Mālava and Gauḍa combined to overthrow the newly imposed suzerainty of the Kings of Thanesar. The King of Mālava had advanced too hastily and was caught by Rājyavardhana II before the King of Gauḍa could join him. He was defeated, but Rājyavardhana II was caught either in a trap laid by Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa or was overwhelmed by superior numbers. After his death, his cousin Bhaṇḍin retreated with the spoils of the victory over the King of Mālava. When the news of Rājyavardhana's murder or death reached Harsha, he started with a large army and succeeded in rescuing his sister Rājyaśrī,

1 *Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 113-17.*

who had escaped from the prison at Kanauj into the forests on the Northern slopes of the Vindhyas. Harsha had taken a vow not to rest until he had avenged himself of his brother's murder. The *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa ends at this place. Just after setting out on his campaign against Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa, Harsha received an embassy from *Kumāra* Bhāskaravarman, the Crown Prince of Assam (*Pragjyotisha* or *Kāmarūpa*), who sought his alliance. By this alliance Harsha succeeded in securing both flanks of the Kingdom of Saśāṅka. Saśāṅka's capital was Karṇasuvarṇa, now called Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Kandi subdivision of the Murshidabad district of Bengal. The city was situated on the Western bank of the Bhāgirathi in Northern Rāḍhā and certain ruins associated with the name of Śaśāṅka in the Midnapur district tend to show that Śaśāṅka's dominions extended from the Northern part of Murshidabad district to that of Balasore. By securing the alliance of the King of Assam, Harsha secured the advantage of being in a position to attack Śaśāṅka both from the east and from the west. Yuan Chwang's statements prove that for some time at any rate Śaśāṅka was in possession of South Bihar or Magadha. A seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka has been discovercd in Rohtasgaḍh fort which proves that the country to the west of the Sone was also in his possession at some time. In the seal Śaśāṅka is called a *Mahāsāmanta*.[1] The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja II prove that in the first place Śaśāṅka had assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* some time before 619 A.D., and in the second place that his dominions consisted of Karusha, Magadha, Rāḍhā, Oḍra and Koṅgoda or in other words

[1] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions, p, 284,*

extended over the modern districts of Arrah or Shahabad, Patna, Gaya, Munger, Bhagalpur, Murshidabad, Hooghly, Burdwan, Howrah, Midnapur, Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam. Śaśāṅka was, thus, the master of the whole of North-eastern India with the exception of Assam, because we do not know what was the position of North Bihar and North Bengal in the political map of India in the 7th century A. D. In the third place the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja II prove that inspite of his vow Harsha had not succeeded in uprooting Śaśāṅka up to the 15th year of his reign. We do not know the exact date of the death of Śaśāṅka. It seems to be certain that he died before Yuan Chwang's arrival at Kanauj or Bodh-Gaya. At some time during the war Bhāskaravarman occupied Karṇasuvarṇa. His Nidhanpur plates were issued from the Royal Camp at Karṇasuvarṇa.[1] It is not possible to determine the exact date of the occupation of Śaśāṇka's capital by his enemy.

The embassy of Haṁsavega to Harsha, when the latter was on his way to fight with Śaśāṅka, is extremely significant, and it may tend to throw some light on the origin and ancestry of Śaśaṅka. In the mediaeval period all powerful kings of Bengal, from Dharmapāla to Lakshmaṇasena, had or claimed to have overrun Assam. It is interesting to note that Mahāsenagupta of Magadha had defeated Bhāskaravarman's father Susthitavarman on the Banks of Brahmaputra. Here lies the true cause of Bhāskara's attempts to ally himself with the king of Thanesar. Mahāsenagupta's son, Mādhavagupta, was the contemporary of Harsha and therefore of Śaśāṅka's as well. Śaśāṅka is known to have been a Śaiva from his coins, on

[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 73.*

which we find the figures of Śiva and Lakshmī. The figures of Lakshmī are exactly the same as those to be found on the coins of Kumāragupta II and Chandragupta III.[1] The Guptas were Vaishṇavas and the Śaiva figures on Śaśāṅka's coins indicate a separate origin for him. But the policy he pursued, the exact type of the seated nimbate figures of Lakshmī and his alliance with Devagupta of Mālava possibly indicate that he belonged to the Gupta dynasty of Magadha in which we know of no *Mahārājādhirāja* before the time of Ādityasena. Śaśāṅka and Devagupta of Mālavā probably tried to restore the prestige of the Gupta dynasties of India immediately after the death of Prabhākaravardhana, and Bhāskaravarman of Assam may have felt the weight of Śaśāṅka's arms before he sent an ambassador to Harsha, to seek his alliance.

Whatever be the real origin of Śaśāṅka, there is no doubt about the fact that eventually he was driven out of Karṇasuvarṇa. It is quite possible that this event had taken place before the date of the Ganjam plates and at that time he had lost his possessions in Bengal and was the master of Orissa only. His conquest of Orissa was undoubtedly real and the adherence to his cause of the Śailodbhava chiefs was so strong that long after Śaśāṅka's death, Harsha had to undertake another campaign in the Koṅgodā *Maṇḍala*.[2] Some modern writers are distinctly wrong when they state that Orissa was included in the Empire of Harsha.[3] Even towards the end of his reign

[1] *Allan—Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta dynasties, pp. 147-48, pl, XXIII,*

[2] *Life of Hiuen Thsang, p. 172.*

[3] V. A. Smith—*Early History of India, p. 354*

Harsha had to spend a long time in Orissa,[1] because not only was Mādhavarāja II or his successor hostile to him but the great Emperor Pulikeśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty of Badami was approaching north-wards along the Eastern coast. Harsha's last campaign in Koṅgoda was directed more against the Chālukyas than the Śailodbhavas. Already before 634 A. D., Pulikeśin II had conquered Southern Kośala and Kaliṅga.[2] Even after Harsha's last campaign in Koṅgoda and Orissa, the Śailodbhavas remained independent. No king of that dynasty ever acknowledged the suzerainty of the great Emperor of Thanesar. While the Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja II show that the Śailodbhava king was the vassal of Śaśāṅka, the Khurda plates prove definitely that he had become independent. Mādhavarāja II must have declared his independence after the death of Śaśāṅka, and the characters of the Khurda grant prove the identity of its grantor with that of the Ganjam plates. The characters of the Parikud plates are very closely allied to those of the Khurda and the Ganjam plates, showing that Madhyamarāja was the grandson of Mādhavarāja II. The characters of the Buguda plates still offer very great difficulties. They are certainly later than those of the Parikud plates but the arrangement and even the exact wording of the genealogy show that the writer intended Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta II to be the same as Sainyabhīta II, the father of Yaśobhīta II and the grandfather of Madhyamarāja of the Parikud plates. We must wait for fresh evidence before we finally agree about the

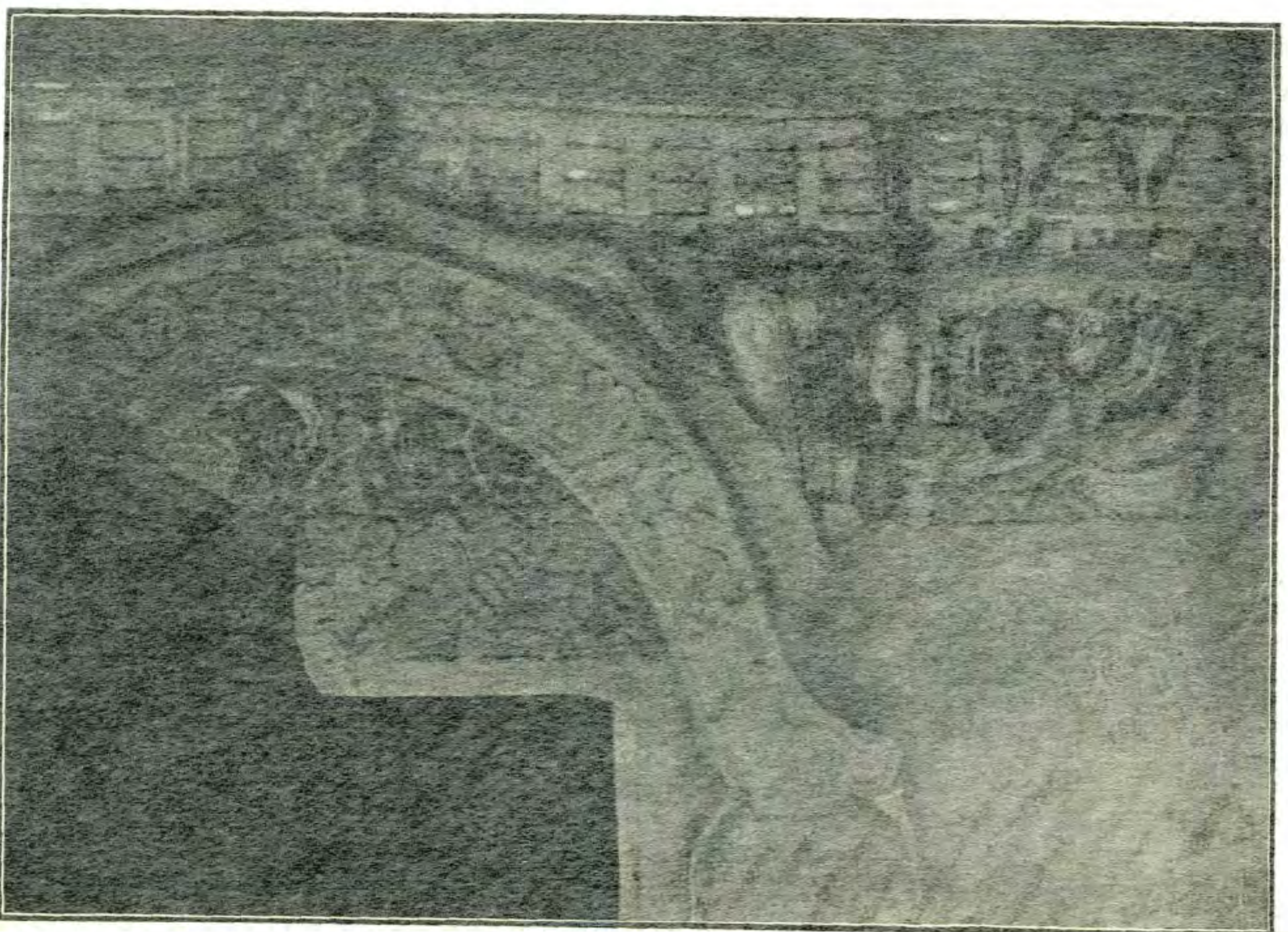
1 *Life of Hiuen Thsang, p. 159.*

2 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 6, 11.*

identity of the grantors of the Ganjam, Khurda and Buguda plates. The Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja prove that Harsha was not able to destroy the Sailodbhavas and that the descendants of Mādhavarāja II continued to rule in Koṅgoda.

We do not know what happened to the Śailodbhavas after Madhyamarāja. One branch of the family probably ruled in some part of the Central Provinces, as we know from the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II, who claims descent from the Śaila family.[1] Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Sāstri has published a single plate of an inscription of a king named Madhyamarāja. The learned editor of this inscription is of the opinion that, because two Princes in this inscription are called Madhyamarāja and one Mānabhīta, this Madhyamarāja is a King of the Śaila or Śailodbhava family. In the first place, this plate, as the learned editor has already observed, is the second or the third plate of a set of four or five. Even the genealogical portion is not complete in it. In the second place, these kings are not mentioned as being born of the Śailodbhava family and there is no mention of Koṅgoda. Therefore it is impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, to identify this line of kings as belonging to the Śailodbhava dynasty.[2] At some subsequent date the Śailas or the Śailodbhavas migrated to the Malay Peninsula, where their inscriptions have been discovered. A king named Śribalaputradeva was the contemporary of Devapāla of Bengal (800-50 A. D.).[3]

1 *Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 41, 47.*
2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV, 1918, pp. 162-7.*
3 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XVII, pp. 323, 326.*



Fragment of tympanum of arch and part of frieze—the four-horsed chariot of the Sun-God —Ananta Gumpha—Khandagiri, Puri District

Two other Kings, Māravijayottuṅgavarman and Saṅgrāmavijayottuṅgavarman, were the contemporaries and subordinates of the great Choḷa Emperors Rājarāja I and Rājendra Choḷa I.

The next king of the dynasty whose records are known to us is Dharmarāja. Two grants of this king have been brought to light up to this date. A set of plates belonging to the Uttara-Pārśva temple of Puri bear a grant of this king, Dharmarāja, of the Śailodbhava dynasty. The inscription on another set of plates of this king was brought to public notice for the first time by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, B. A., formerly Munsif of Chodavaram in the Godāvari district of the Madrās Presidency.[1] Recently the inscription on the Puri plates has been published by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajguru of Parlakimedi. According to the published text we find that Pulindasena, famous among the people of Kaliṅga, is mentioned first of all (1.5). Then comes Śailodbhava, the ancestor of the dynasty. In that family (*Kulaja*) was born Raṇabhīta, a name rendered Araṇabhīta, which is more natural and at the same time grammatical. His son was Sainyabhīta I. In the family of Sainyabhīta I was born Yaśobhīta or, as Mr. Rājaguru puts it, Ayaśobhīta. His son was Sainyabhīta II. His son was Ayaśobhita II. Then comes Madhyamarāja, who is perhaps the same as the donor of the Parikud plate. His son is the donor of the Puri plate, Dharmarāja. The object of the charter is to record the grant of a field in the village of Doṁgi, in the district (*vishaya*) of Varttini in the *maṇḍala* of Koṅgada by Dharmarāja. The grant was issued from

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1921, Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle, p. 15. No. 3.*

Mātṛichandrapāṭaka (1. 40). The plates examined by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath were issued from the royal residence (*Vāsaka*) at Somapura.[1] There is one other point of resemblance besides the genealogy. It is stated in the 16th verse that Dharmarāja, having succeeded to the kingdom by the right of primogeniture, banished a person named Mādhava from the kingdom after defeating him in battle at a place called Phāsika. The baffled Mādhava sought shelter with a king named Tīvara and both of them were again defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas. The same incident is also mentioned in Mr. Rath's plates where Mr. G. Venkoba Rao misread Tīvara as Śrivara. "He is said to have defeated at Phāsika a certain Mādhava who thereafter sought the help of a king called Śrivara but was killed by Dharmarāja at the foot of the Vindhya hills." Mr. Rath's plates are dated Samvat 800 according to Mr. Venkoba Rao, *i. e.*, 744 A. D. According to the summary given in appendix A, this grant "records the tax-free gift of half of the village Kondoḍḍa in the Khiḍḍiṅgahāra-vishaya to the Agnihotrī and Bhaṭṭa Gonadevasvāmi of the Kauśika-Gotra and Vājasaneya-charaṇa. "The Puri plates record the grant of the field to a Brāhmaṇa named Golasvāmin *alias* Māsika of the Kāṇva *śākhā* and the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* and the Jātukarṇa *gotra*, whose *pravaras* were Vaśishṭha, Ātreya and Jātukarṇa. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the Mahāsāmanta Goshāladeva and it was written by the *Mahābhogī* and *sāmanta* Paṭapāla. It was incised by the *Sthavira* Vṛiddha. This inscription is also dated and the date has been read by Mr. Rajaguru as Samvat 512 Vaiśākha śudi. It is impossible to accept this

1 *Ibid., p. 94.*

date as correct; in the first place because Mr. Rath's plates were issued in V. S. 800 and in the second place both grants mention a king named Tīvara who was defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas and therefore must belong to the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Śripura or Sirpur, who is known from a number of inscriptions. This Tīvara is undoubtedly Mahāśivagupta Tivaradeva, the brother of Chandragupta and the uncle of Harshagupta of the same dynasty. As Chandragupta is almost certainly the same king who is mentioned as the opponent of the Rāshṭrakuṭa king Govinda III in the Sanjan plates of his son, Amoghavarsha I,[1] it is impossible to think of Tivaradeva as belonging to the 6th century. The date must therefore be V. S., 812-756 A. D., or the regnal year 12. Mr. Venkoba Rao mentions that Dharmarāja of Mr. Rath's plates is also called Mānabhīta.

The genealogy which we now obtain is the longest known of the Śailodbhava dynasty :—

Śailodbhava
(in his family)
|
Araṇabhīta
|
Sainyabhīta I
(in his family)
|
Ayaśobhīta I
|
Sainyabhīta II
|
Ayaśobhīta II
|
Madhyamarāja
|
Dharmarāja.

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 240, 245.*

It is evident from these two charters of Dharmarāja that Mādhava was probably a younger brother and a rival for the throne. The dates of the two grants indicate that the Śailodhavas ruled up to the middle of the 8th century, when they were most probably supplanted by the Karas.

A single plate of another charter of a king named Madhyamarāja was discovered in Tekkali in the Ganjam district. This plate is the second or third plate of a set of four or five plates. The composition agrees with that of the Parikud plates of Madhyamarāja I and his son Dharmarāja. The genealogy begins with Madhyamarāja I, then comes his son Dharmarāja, surnamed Mānabhīta or perhaps Amānabhīta. His son was Madhyamarāja II. Then comes another son of Mānabhīta whose name has not been read. The son of Madhyamarāja II was Raṇakshobha. His brother was a prince named Petavyālloparāja. His son was Madhyamarāja III, who was called Taillapa when he was the crown prince. The inscription ends at this place before the close of the metrical portion and therefore it is uncertain whether there were any other princes in the Śailodbhava family after Madhyamarāja III.[1] Though the earlier part of the inscription is missing and Pulindasena, Śailodbhava and the earlier princes are not named, it is fairly certain that these descendants of Dharmarāja belong to the Śailodbhava family.

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV.

CHAPTER X.

ORISSA AS SEEN BY YUAN CHWANG

Yuan Chwang's description of the Northern part of the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal shows that in the first half of the 7th century A. D., Orissa or Kaliṅga was divided into three distinct parts; U-ch'a (*Oḍra*), Kong-yu-t'o (*Koṅgoda* or *Kuṅgada*) and Ki-ling-kia (*Kaliṅga*). Andhra and Kośala were quite distinct from them and have been described separately. Yuan Chwang's description further proves that Oḍra began in the Midnapur district and not in Balasore, as at present. According to him Oḍra lay 700 *li* or so in a south-westerly direction from Karṇasuvarṇa. Taking Karṇasuvarṇa as the capital of the kingdom of that name as the centre we can reach the northern part of the Midnapur district after covering 140 miles. In those days the road passed through the Birbhum district into Midnapur. Karṇasuvarṇa has been identified with Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Murshidabad district of Bengal.

Oḍra is clearly Northern Orissa, consisting of the modern districts of Midnapur, Balasore and Cuttack with that part of Puri which lies to the north of the marshes along the northern fringe of the Chilka lake. The description of the pilgrim is very short and does not agree with the present state of the country. For example, he states that the people are uncivilised, tall of stature and of a yellowish-black complexion. The average Oriya can hardly be called tall in stature and yellowish-black in complexion. He is usually dwarfish in stature and brownish black

in complexion. The next remark of the Chinese pilgrim is quite accurate : "their words and language (*pronunciation*) differ from Central India." Watters translates this passage in a slightly different fashion : "The people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, in speech and manners, different from the people of Mid-India." The pronunciation of the people of Orissa is still quite different from that of Bengal and Mahākośala or the Chhattisgaḍh division of the Central Provinces. The most marked difference is in the pronunciation of the semi-vowel, *e.g.*, *Ṛshi* is pronounced *Rushi*. This is the beginning of the Southern fashion of the pronunciation of this letter. It is not possible to determine in what way the manners of the people of Orissa differed from those of the people of Bengal in the North and of those of Andhra in the South. Yuan Chwang states that the people loved learning and were indefatigable students in those days, a characteristic which has lost ground in more recent times. In the middle of the 7th century, the majority of the inhabitants of the country were Buddhists. There were very nearly one hundred Buddhist monasteries and about ten thousand monks, all of whom were followers of the *Mahāyāna*. *Deva* temples or Hindu temples numbered nearly fifty, in which followers of different sects worshipped together. Yuan Chwang mentions a famous monastery called *Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li*, *i.e.*, Pushpagiri, which has not been satisfactorily identified as yet. Dr. L. A. Waddell's extremely unwise suggestions about modern Jajpur have not been accepted by the majority of scholars. This Pushpagiri appears to be the monastery, the ruins of which can be seen above the big undeciphered rock inscription at Udayagiri in the

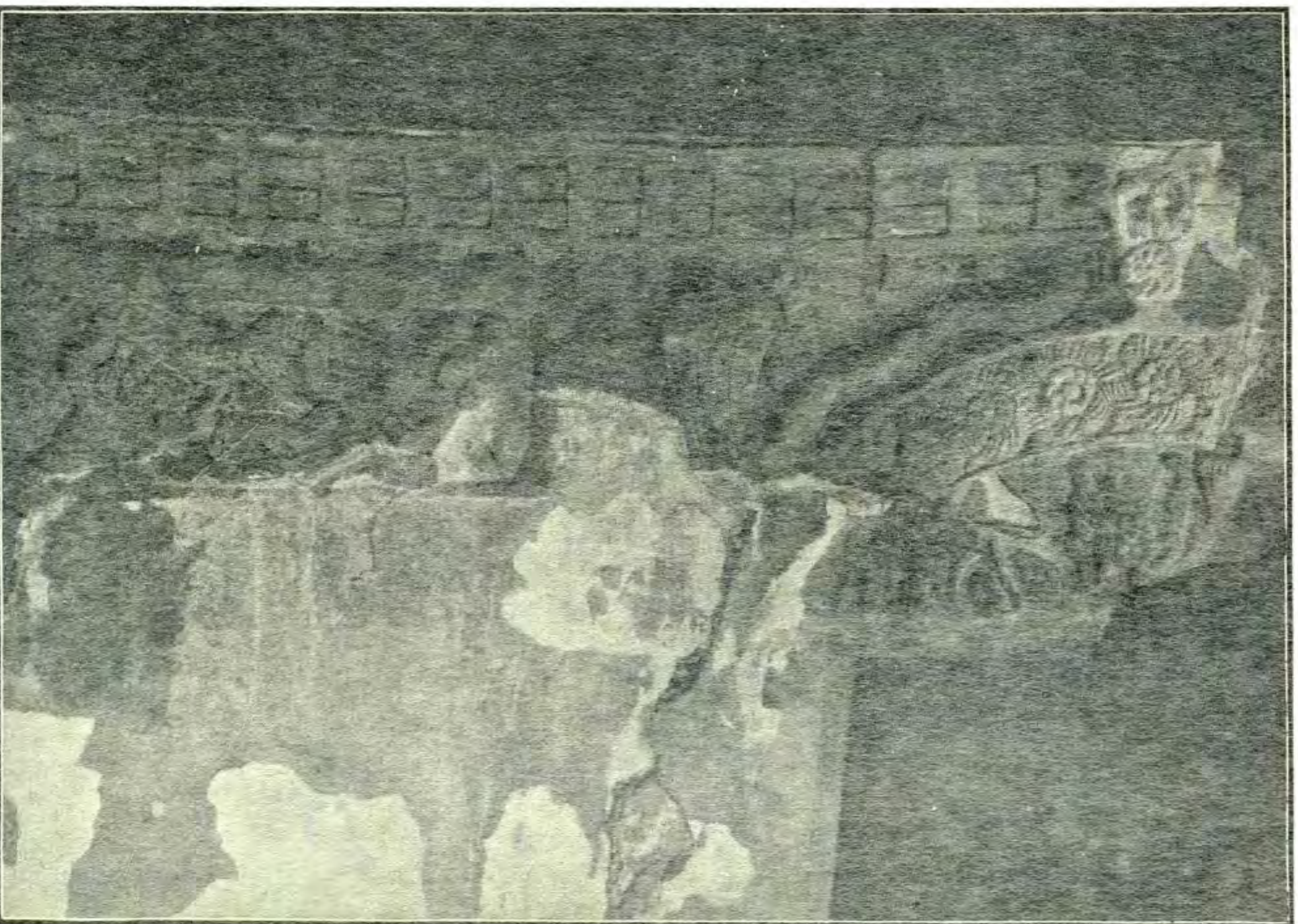
Cuttack district. Yuan Chwang states that "to the north-east of this tope in a hill-monastery was another tope like the preceding." This appears to refer to the ruins on Ratnagiri. The Chinese pilgrim mentions a city on the sea-shore in the south-east of this country named Che-li-ta-lo. This has been rendered into *Charitra* in Sanskrit and identified with Puri. In fact, with the exception of Puri there is no other city or port in South-Eastern Orissa with which it can be identified. The city is described, "above twenty *li* in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together, of lofty structure and with very artistic images." So far no Buddhist ruins have been discovered inside or in the neighbourhood of Puri. It is also strange that no mention is made of the shrine of Jagannātha which must have existed at this place in some form, because the present temple was built by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga at the close of the 11th century A. D. No mention has been made also of the Jain temples and relics at Puri, numerous specimens of which are known to exist in the neighbourhood. Several Jain images were found by the present writer in the walls of the *Jagamohana* of the present temple at Puri. The Chinese pilgrim then proceeds to state that the island of Ceylon was 3,330 miles distant and that from Charitra on calm nights it was possible to see the brilliant light from the pearl on the top of the *stūpa* over Buddha's Tooth in that country. Watters notes that in the life of Yuan Chwang it is stated that the Buddhists of Orissa were all Hīnayānists. This statement of Hwui-li is most probably a mistake,

because in the 8th century the king and many of the monks were Buddhists. The king Śubhakara copied with his own hands the Sanskrit text of the Mahāyānist treatise called *Ta-fang-kuang-Fe-hua-yen-ching* or chapter on the practice and prayer of the Bodhisattva Sāmantabhadra in the *Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra.*[1]

The next division of the country was Kon-yu-t'o or Kung-gu-t'o, which is certainly the Koṅgoda or the Kuṅgada of the inscriptions. Yuan Chwang states that Koṅgoda was more than 200 miles from Wu-ch'a or Oṭa, *i.e.*, Oḍra or Northern Orissa. This takes us to the region to the south of the Chilkā lake and not to the country around that lake, as Fergusson and Cunningham supposed in the last century. The Koṅgoda country begins to the south of the Chilkā lake near Chhatrapur. The capital of the country was above three miles in circuit. The country was hilly, bordering on the sea, and its people were tall and valorous. They were of a black complexion, and, though their written language was the same as that of India, their manner of speaking it was quite different. This is perfectly true, because in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts the influx of Telugu is of recent origin. The Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka of G. E. 300-619 A. D., show that the script of the Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* was of the Northern variety.[2] The inscriptions of the Śailodbhava dynasty prove the correctness of Yuan Chwang's remarks. Another remark about Koṅgoda is also particularly correct. "As the town were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the

1 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Oxford, 1883, p. 34, No. 89.*

2 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VI., pp. 143-46.*



Fragment of tympanum of arch and part of frieze—The King Elephant—Ananta Gumpha —Khandagiri, Puri District

neighbouring countries in awe and so there was no powerful enemy." In the first half of the 7th century A. D., Śaśāṅka king of Gauḍa and his subordinate Sainyabhīta-Mādhava-varman of Koṅgoda had successfully defended the country against the aggression of Harshavardhana Śilāditya of Thanesar, so that even in 643 A. D., the great Harsha was compelled to invade that country once more. Regarding the condition of religions Yuan Chwang states that Buddhism was not strong. There were more than one hundred Hindu temples while the Jains numbered more than ten thousand. Yuan Chwang's silence about the government of the country proves that the country was still hostile to his patron, king Harshavardhana. Watters is wrong in supposing that it was included in the empire of Harsha. Yuan Chwang states that the circumference of Koṅgoda was slightly over 150 miles. This is also perfectly true. From later inscriptions it has been proved that Koṅgoda was a *maṇḍala* in the country of Tosalī. The country is described as very hilly and as containing a number of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hill to the edge of the sea. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to the trading activities of the people of Koṅgoda and states that the currency was *Kowri* shells and pearls. At that time the country produced very large black elephants similar to those to be found even now in the northern slopes of the Eastern Ghats.

From Koṅgoda, Yuan Chwang proceeded to Kaliṅga which he calls Ki-ling-kia. This province was nearly three hundred miles to the south-west of Koṅgoda. Even in the 7th century Kaliṅga was quite separate from Andhra or Telingana proper, which is mentioned and described

separately by Yuan Chwang. Andhra or An-to-lo was about 150 miles south of Kośala or the Chhattisgaḍh division of the Central Provinces, while Kaliṅga was nearly 300 miles to the south-east of Kośala. The position indicated, therefore, is that of the country between the Godāvarī and the Penner for Andhra and Dhanakaṭaka, Ganjam and Vizagapatam for Kaliṅga and the Chhattisgaḍh and Bastar for Kośala.

The description of Kaliṅga is also exceedingly brief. The country was less than a thousand miles in circuit and contained long forests. This country also produced large dark elephants which were prized in the neighbouring countries. "The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech ; in their talk and manners, they differred somewhat from Mid-India." The last observation of the Chinese pilgrim is also particularly correct, because from the south of Ganjam people signify assent by a rolling movement of the head which signifies negation in Northern India. The exact boundaries of Kaliṅga are not given and the great rivers Godāvarī and Kṛshṇā are not mentioned. It is quite possible that the Godāvarī was the southern limit of the province. It should be noted in this connection that the great rivers Godāvarī and Kṛshṇā are altogether omitted in Yuan Chwang's account of Andhra also. There were very few Buddhists in the country. There were not more than ten Buddhist monasteries and five hundred monks who belonged to the *Sthavira-vāda* school of *Mahāyāna*. But there were more than one hundred Hindu temples, and adherents of different sects were numerous. In the case of

Kaliṅga, Yuan Chwang does not mention the *Nirgranthas* or Jainas. The capital of the country was of the same size as the capitals of Oḍra and Koṅgoda, *i. e.*, twenty *li* or three-and-half a mile in circumference. Older writers like Cunningham, wanted to identify the capital of Kaliṅga with modern Rājamahendri but Fergusson was correct in placing it near modern Kaliṅgapatam. The inscriptions of the early Eastern Gaṅgas prove that the Kaliṅganagara of their inscriptions was situated in the vicinity of Mukhaliṅgam and Śrī-Kurmam.

No account of Orissa would be complete without a reference to Mahākośala and Andhra, countries which bounded the three ancient divisions of Orissa on the south and west. Yuan Chwang's description of Mahākośala or the Southern Kośala is very long on account of the association of that country with the great Buddhist scholar Nāgārjuna. He went to Southern Kośala by retracing his steps northwards for three hundred miles through dense jungles on both the slopes of the Eastern Ghats. He describes the country as being more than one thousand miles in circumference. It was surrounded by high mountains and consisted almost entirely of forests and marshes. The capital of this country was bigger in size than those of any of the three parts of Orissa, being forty *li* or six-and-a-half mile in circumference. The king of this country was a Kshatriya by birth but a follower of Buddhism. There were more than one hundred monasteries and about ten thousand Mahāyānist monks. Just outside the capital of the country there was an old Buddhist monastery with a *stūpa* built by Aśoka. The great Nāgārjuna was at one time a resident of this monastery. A king called Sha-to-p'o-ha or Sātavāhana

was his contemporary. The Boddhisattva Nāgārjuna was one of the greatest scholars India has ever produced. He is regarded as the father of ancient Indian chemistry and medicine, and the works ascribed to him prove that in mediæval times he was regarded as one of the greatest exponents of *Māhāyāna* doctrines. He was a profound philosopher. He is generally regarded as a contemporary of the Great Kushān Emperor Kāṇishka I, who ascended the throne either in 78 or 120 A.D. Nāgārjuna is supposed to be one of the leaders of Northern Buddhism who persuaded Kāṇishka I to assemble the fourth *Mahāsaṅgīti* or Great Council of Buddhist Monks at Jullundur or in Kashmir. During Nāgārjuna's residence in this monastery another great Buddhist philosopher named Deva came to visit him. Unfortunately, for us, we do not know what was the capital of the country in the first half of the 7th century A. D., and the Chhattisgaḍh division and the Bastar State have been so imperfectly surveyed by archæologists that the location of the ancient capital is not possible for us even now. Fergusson wanted to locate this capital at Wairagaḍh which is mentioned as Vajiraghara in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga and as Vayirākara in certain rock inscriptions of Kulottunga Choḷa I. The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is Vajrākara or Vajragaḍh meaning "Diamond Mine" or the "Adamantine fort." According to tradition, the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna was born in Southern or Western India and, according to Tibetan authorities, he spent much of his time at Nālanda. He was the fourteenth or the thirteenth patriarch according to the apocryphal line of succession. His name is mentioned in the final verses of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra.* The kings

Kāṇishka, Kilika, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, and Dharmagupta are mentioned in works assigned to Nāgārjuna. Twenty of these works are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Buddhists ascribe a very long life, five hundred and twenty-nine years, to Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva. He is mentioned in the Harshacharita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa as having obtained from a Nāga king in hell a wreath of pearls which was a very potent medicine for all sorts of poisons.

Yuan Chwang goes on to state that a rock-cut monastery was excavated for Nāgārjuna at *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* by a king named Yin-Cheng who cut a path along the rock surface nearly two miles in length, communicating with the other monastery. The *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* is no doubt the Bhramaragiri now in the Rewa State. The name was discovered by the present writer in an inscription dated 973 A. D., at Chandrehe, twenty-nine miles due south of Rewa town in the State of that name in the Baghelkhaṇḍ Agency.[1] Previous to the discovery of this inscription various theories had been propounded by different scholars about the locality of Bhramara hill. It has also been suggested that Bhramara is really another name for Pārvatī. Burgess proposed to identify this Bhramaragiri with Śrī-śaila on the Kṛshṇā river, though it was much beyond the limits of the country of Kośala. The Bhramaragiri, in the Rewa State, has not been properly explored as yet and further exploration may lead to the discovery of the remains of the five-storeyed monastery described by Yuan Chwang.

The Andhra country can be located more definitely from the position of its capital Ping-chi-lo or Ping-ki-lo, which

1 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India: the Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments, No. 20, p. 114.*

is evidently the Veṅgī of the inscriptions. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit it was the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas and remained so for more than three centuries, till at least 1070 A. D., when Rajendra Choḷa II left it, to be crowned as the Choḷa king Kulottuṅga I of Tanjore.

Short and meagre as the description is Yuan Chwang's account of the three different divisions of ancient Orissa, Oḍra, Koṅgoda and Kaliṅga, serves to illustrate a very little known chapter of the history of that country. Recent research has thrown fresh light on the names and places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims and made what was unintelligible to Beal and Watters perfectly clear to us.[1]

[1] Compiled from Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 204-17* and Watters's on *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, pp. 193-208.*

CHAPTER XI.

THE KARAS

The kings of the Kara dynasty of Orissa were absolutely unknown to the people of India twenty years ago. During this period the labours of a number of epigraphists and the French Sinologist, M. Sylvain Levi, has enabled us to reconstruct the history and chronology of this dynasty of kings. The date of the dynasty was fixed by M. Levi's fortunate discovery of the reference to an embassy from Orissa to the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong towards the end of the 8th century : "in 795 A.D., that is, the 11th year of the period Cheng-yuan." The king who sent this embassy was called Śubhakara. It was the good fortune of the writer to come across the first inscription of king Śubhakara fourteen years ago. In this inscription, the Neulpur plate, three generations of kings of the Kara dynasty are mentioned, viz., (1) Kshemaṅkaradeva, (2) Śivakaradeva and (3) Śubhakaradeva. Since then the history of the dynasty has been much better illuminated by the fortunate discovery of two other grants, (1) the Kumuraṅga plate of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* and (2) the Chaurāsī plate of Śivakaradeva. These two newly discovered inscriptions now enable us to link together the informations supplied by the two plates of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*, at one time preserved in the office of the Collector of Ganjam, and the grant of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* from Dhenkanal edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasād Śāstrī, C.I.E. These inscriptions show that there were two groups of

dynasties of Kara kings ruling at different dates. The first group or dynasty is known from two inscriptions only: (1) the Neulpur plate of Śubhakara and (2) the Chaurāśī plate of Śivakara II. The remaining inscriptions of this dynasty are later in date and belong to the period of the second group.

The first group of Kara kings were decidedly Buddhist. The first king of this group, Kshemaṅkara, is called simply a lay worshipper (*Paramopāsaka*). His son, Śivakara, is, styled the devout worshipper of the Tathāgata (*Parama-Tāthāgata*) and his grandson, Śubhakara, is styled the devout Buddhist (*Parama-saugata*). Śubhakara was a contemporary of the Chinese Emperor, Te-tsong, and in Chinese records he is described as one "Who had a big faith in the Sovereign Law, and who followed the practice of the Sovereign Mahāyāna." His name is given as "The fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." From this M. Sylvain Levi guesses that the name of the king of Orissa was Śubhakara Keśarī. In the year 795 A.D., the Chinese Emperor, Te-tsong, received an autograph manuscript containing the last section of the *Avataṁsaka*, which is the section dealing with the practice and vow of the Bodhisattva Sāmantabhadra. M. Levi, therefore, guesses that the work presented to the Chinese emperor was really the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, "of which the original is preserved among the Nepali collections." The autograph manuscript and the letter from king, Śubhakara, was entrusted to the monk, Prajñā, who was requested to translate it. The Prajñā was an inhabitant of Ki-pin or Kapiśā near Kabul, who had begun his studies in Northern India and then migrated to Nālanda, where he had resided for some time. After



Door-way and tympanum of arch—worship of the Sacred Tree—Ananta Gumpha—Khandagiri, Puri District

spending eighteen years in study, he settled down in the monastery of the king of Orissa to study Yoga philosophy. Then he went to China as the ambassador of the king of Orissa.[1] Though Śubhakara and his ancestors were Buddhists, the villages granted by him by a grant, discovered at Neulpur, was given to Brāhmanas. The villages of Kompāraka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka were situated in the districts (*vishaya*) of Pañchāla and Vubhyudaya in Northern Tosalī. The grant was issued in the 8th year of the reign of Śubhakara.[2] The genealogy is carried one generation further in the Chaurāśī plate of Śivakara II. This inscription is of great importance, as it supplies much interesting information. After the name of Śivakara I the word *Kara*, which appears to be the family name, is repeated, a feature which is to be found in some of the inscriptions of the second group of Kara kings. We know from this new inscription that Śivakara I married Jayāvalīdevī from whom was born Śubhakara, the contemporary of the Emperor Te-tsong. From Śubhakara by his queen Mādhavadevī was born Śivakara II. The Chaurāśī plate records the grant of the village of Vuvrada situated in Southern Tosalī to a number of Brāhmaṇas in the thirteenth year of the reign of the king on the 12th day of the bright half of Kārtika. Śivakara II and his father Śubhakara are given the Imperial title *Parameśvara-Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.[3] The village of Vuvrada granted by Śivakara II, was situated in the Antarudra district (*vishaya*)

[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 363-64.*

[2] *Ibid., pp. 1-8.*

[3] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIV, 1928 pp. 292-306.*

which is identified by Mr. Nārāyaṇa Tripāthi with the *parganāh* of Antarodh in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Puri district of Orissa. The grant was issued from Śubhadevī-pāṭaka, which is a mistake for Śubhadeva-pāṭaka mentioned in the Neulpur plate. The special Buddhist titles of Śubhakara, his father and grandfather are not given in the Chaurāśī plate even in the case of Śubhakara.

The second group of Kara kings is known to us in detail from three grants of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* and the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī*. The three grants of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* supply us with more information than the plate of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī*. The earliest inscriptions of this dynasty were the two grants of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* preserved in the office of the Collector of Ganjam and edited by the late Prof. Dr. Kielhorn. Out of these two plates the first one is dated in the year 180 of an unknown era. If this date is assigned to the unknown Ganga era then it was issued in 858 A. D. The Kumuranga plate of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* is also dated. The late Mr. H. Pānday read it as 387, but it appears on the analogy of the Ganjam first plate to be 187. The Ganjam plates state that "There was a king named Unmaṭṭasiṁha (1.5), from whose family sprang Maṅgapāda (1.7) and other kings. In their family there was the king Loṇabhāra (1.9) ; his son was Kusumabhāra (1.13) ; after him ruled his younger brother Lalitabhāra (1.13) ; he was succeeded by his son Śāntikara (1.15), and he again by his younger brother Śubhakara (1.18). When the last of these princes died, his queen ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* (1.20) ruled the earth for a long time. The information supplied by the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* is exactly

similar, but in this plate the name of this first king is spelt as Lolabhāra.

From these three inscriptions we learn that one Unmaṭṭasiṁha was regarded as the remote ancestor of this line of kings. The Ganjam plates mention a king named Maṅgapāda after him. The Dhenkanal plates mention Gayāḍa and others instead of Maṅgapāḍa. Evidently, Prof. Kielhorn could not read the name Gayāḍa correctly.[1] In the family of Gayāḍa was born Lolabhāra or Loṇabhāra. His sons Kusumabhāra and Lalitabhāra succeeded him. Lalitabhāra's son was Śāntikara according to the inscription of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*. We learn from the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* that she was the wife of Lalitabhāra, who is styled the Moon of the Kumuda flowers of the Kara family, *mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. Tribhuvana *mahādevī* was the daughter of a southern chief named Rājamalla, who upheld the fortunes of the Kara family at the time of a great misfortune. At that time, requested by the *Gosvāminī* Purayidevī and the assembly of great feudatories (*mahāsāmanta-chakra*), Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* ascended the throne. We do not know whether Śāntikara was her son or not. The three grants of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* carry the genealogy of the second group of Kara kings three generations further. Śāntikara, the son of Lalitabhāra, was succeeded by his son Śubhakara II and he by one of his queens who is not named. Later on Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*, the daughter of Śubhakara II ascended the throne. The date of the Kumuraṅga plates of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*, the year 187 of an unknown era is the latest known date of this dynasty. If applied to the little known

1 *Srī-mad-Gayāḍa* often looks like *Śrī-Maṅgapāda*.

Gaṅga era it would give 965 A.D., as the latest known date for Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*.

The foregoing summary of the events connected with the reigns of the second groups of monarchs of the Kara dynasty show that the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* is the earliest known inscription of the second group. The late Mr. H. Pānday attempted to connect the two dynasties by identifying Kshemaṅkara of the Neulpur plate with Śāntikara of the inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* and Śubhakara with Śivakara. There are two Śivakaras in the first group of the Kara dynasty and as all other names disagree, it is not possible to identify the kings of these two groups.

Of the kings mentioned as the ancestors of Lolabhāra, neither Unmaṭṭasiṁha nor Gayāḍa are known from other inscriptions. It is absolutely impossible to identify king Gayāḍa, the ancestor of Lolabhāra, with Gayāḍa of the Tuṅga family, the descendant of Salānatuṅga and Jagaṭṭuṅga. Of Lolabhāra and his sons Kusumabhāra and Lalitabhāra no details are given in any of the three inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*. Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* was the widow of Lalitabhāra and she has left a good deal of information in a grant discovered in the Dhenkanal State. This was issued from Śubheśvara-pāṭaka, the capital of Śubhakara. The kings Unmaṭṭakesarī and Gayāḍa are mentioned among the early ancestors. Then we are introduced to a chief of Southern India who had saved the Kara family when it had fallen on evil days. Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* was the daughter of Rājamalla and was married to Lalitabhāradeva. Evidently upon the death of her husband the queen was persuaded by the ascetic Purāyidevi and the principal

feudatories to ascend the throne. Her titles are *Parama-bhaṭṭārikā-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarī* and she is styled the devout worshipper of Vishṇu.

The land granted was situated in Kośala but it is not specified in which part of that country. The village granted, Koṇṭasparā, was situated in the district of Olāśrama. The grant is dated, as it was issued according to the editor in "*Samvat Lu Chu Kārttika sudi di.*" These numerals have not been translated by the learned editor but as the symbol *Lu* denotes the numeral for 100 in two grants of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* it would be safer to assume that this symbol expresses the same value that it does in the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍi *Mahādevī*. The late Mr. H. Pānday transcribed this symbol as 300, but a comparison with the Ganjam plate shows that he is wrong. The symbol *Chu* may be taken to denote 30. With these dates as the basis the chronology of the second group of Kara kings may be reconstructed. The inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* do not mention Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* but bring forth another king named Śāntikara as the successor of Lalitabhāra. We possess two different stone inscriptions of this Śāntikara, one of which is dated. This inscription was found in a cave on the top of Dhaulī hill in the Puri district of Orissa. It records a private donation in the year 93.[1] According to all inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* Śāntikara was the son and successor of Lalitabhāra and according to the Dhenkanal plate Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* was the latter's wife and successor, but as Śāntikara was ruling

[1] This is the inscription mentioned by the late Mr. H. Pānday but it has not appeared in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV. It will be published in a subsequent volume. *Ibid., Vol. V, 1919, p. 569.*

in the year 93 and Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* in the year 130 there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* had succeeded Śāntikara, her son or step-son, on the throne and not her husband Lalitabhāra. The disturbances mentioned in the Dhenkanal plate appears to have taken place either shortly before or after the year 93. There are no reasons to suppose that the year 93 belongs to a different era from the year 130 of the Dhenkanal plate. If these be referred to the Gaṅga era then Śāntikara was ruling in Central Orissa in 871 A. D. It may, therefore, be assumed that the disturbances caused by Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja I were the causes of the fall of the Kara or Kesarī dynasty after the death of Lalitabhāra and that the revival of Kara power under Rājamalla caused Netṛibhañja I and his successors to retire to the South and transfer their capital from Dhṛitipura to Vañjulvaka. The two inscriptions of Śāntikara have now become the oldest records of the second group of Kara kings. The first of them was discovered inside the Ganeśagumphā cave on the Udaygiri hill, three miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvar, in the Puri district. It is not dated and simply mentions Bhīmata, the son of a person named Naṇṇata.[1] The second inscription of the reign of Śāntikara was found by the author in a cave close to Aśoka's rock inscription at Dhauli near Bhuvaneśvar. The only important part of this inscription is the date, the year 93. If the initial year of the so-called Gaṅga era falls in 778 A. D., then this cave was excavated in 871 A. D. Beyond this we do not know anything about Śāntikara.

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 167, no. XVII.*

The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* proves that she came to the throne after Śāntikara. In the period which followed the death of her husband, Lalitabhāra, and his son, Śāntikara, there were disturbances which were quelled by her father Rājamalla. In the Dhenkanal plate this chief is simply called "The mark on the forehead of the Southern region." The only kings of this name known to us are the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I[1] and the three Western Gaṅga chiefs of that name. Out of these three, Rāchamalla or Rājamalla I is too early. The king referred to may be Rājamalla II whose Narasapur plates were issued in S. 824-902 A. D.[2] These identifications depend upon the probabilities of the Karas using the so-called Gaṅga era and that era having started from 778 A. D.

The object of the inscription on the Dhenkanal plates was to record the grant of the village of Koṇṭasparā to Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara for the purpose of bringing down rain *(Vṛishṭi-kāma-nimittāya)*.[3]

The three inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* prove that the statements of the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* that "the Kara family were known only to fame", and "who finding the earth with all her Kara kings dead and gone" are incorrect. Tribhuvana *Mahādevī* was succeeded by Śubhakara II, the younger brother of Śāntikara. There cannot be any doubt about the fact

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VII, App. p. 5, note 4.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 3 ; Epi. Carn., Vol. X, p. 25, no. 90.*

3 *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 419-27.*

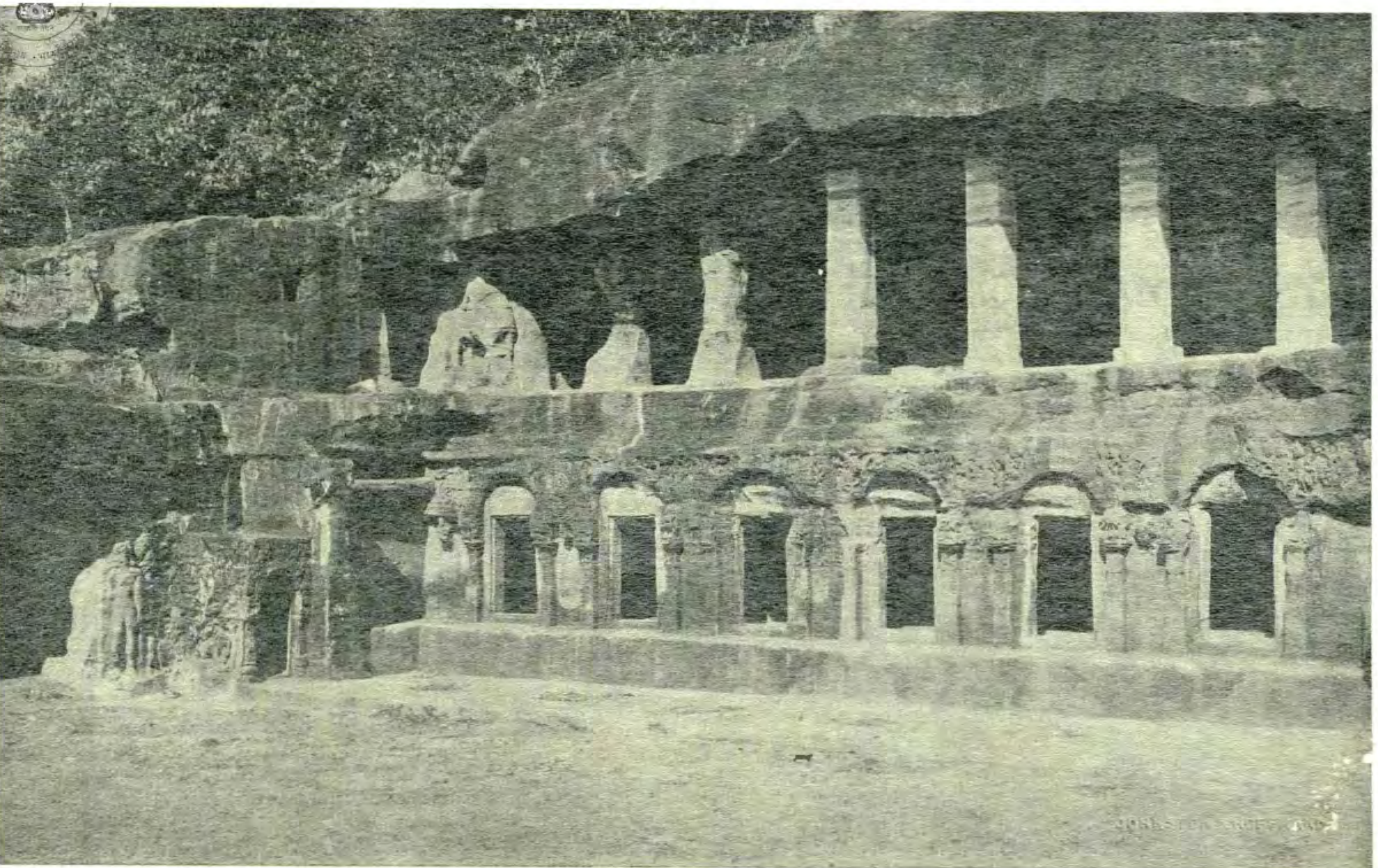
that this Śubhakara was quite different from Śubhakara, the contemporary of the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong, and the son of Śivakara I, and the grandson of Kshemaṅkara. All inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* agree in stating that Śubhakara was succeeded first of all by his queen, whose name, according to certain scholars, was Gaurī. Then Śubhakara's daughter, Daṇḍī, ascended the throne. Out of the three grants of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*, two only are dated. The earliest date is to be found in the first Ganjam plate of the year 180 which may be equivalent to 958 A. D. By this plate the great queen granted the village of Villagrāma situated in the Eastern Division of the Barada-*khaṇḍa* district *(vishaya)* of the Koṅgoda *Maṇḍala.* The *Pūrva-khanda* of the Koṅgoda *mandala* is still known by that name in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśirsha of the year 180.[1]

The second Ganjam plate of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* is undated. It contains the important information that the Koṅda *maṇḍala* was situated in Southern Kośala. By this plate the queen granted the village of Garasambhā in the district of Arttani on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa.*[2] The third and the most recently discovered inscription of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* is the Kumuranga plate of the year 187. By this inscription the queen granted the village of Kāntaśaranagarī in the district of Khidiṅgabhāra of the Kuṅgada *Maṇḍala* in Southern Tosala, on the 13th day of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the year 187.[3] The

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 133-40.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 140-42.*

3 *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, pp. 564-81.*



Rani Nur Gumpha—General View
Left Portion;of the Central Wing, Udaygiri, Puri district

Kumuraṅga plate informs us that the Kuṅgada or the Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* was situated in Southern Tosala, whereas the second Ganjam plate states that it was situated in Southern Kośala, and, therefore, it is apparent that in Orissa Tosala and Kośala were equivalents. The dated inscriptions of Daṇḍī *Mahādevī* prove that the queen was reigning from 958 to 965 A. D., if the dates can be referred to the Gaṅga era. We do not know what happened to the Kara family after Daṇḍī *Mahādevī*. Evidently the Bhañjas regained power and were able to regain Northern Khiñjalī under or in the time of Netṛibhañja II, the son of Vidyādharabhañja.

The discovery of M. Sylvain Levi leaves no doubt about the fact that the first group of Kara kings bore the title of Keśarī. The inscriptions of the second group of Kara kings prove that one of their ancestors was called Unmattakeśarī, but the title is not applied to any king of the second group. We do not know whether these later Kara kings had other *birudas* or not, but kings with the name Kesarī are to be met with in some inscriptions of Orissa and records of other countries. At least three inscriptions are known of a king named Uddyotakeśarī. The earliest inscription of the reign of this prince was discovered in a ruined cave assigned to the mythical Lalāṭendukeśarī of the native tradition of Orissa, on Khaṇḍagiri, three miles from Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri district. According to this inscription in the 5th year of the reign of Uddyotakeśarī the old temples and well on the Kumāra hill were repaired.[1]

In the Hāthīgumphā inscription of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga we have seen that Udayagiri is called the Kumārī

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 166, no. XVI.*

hill. From the inscription in Lalāṭendukeśarī's cave we learn that Khaṇḍagiri was called the Kumāra hill. The ancient names of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri were, therefore, Kumāra and Kumārī. In the Navamuni cave on the same hill there is another pilgrim's record belonging to the reign of Uddyotakeśarī. It states that in the year 18 of the reign of Uddyotakeśarī the *Āchārya* Kulachandra's disciple, Śubhachandra came to this shrine.[1] Another inscription, discovered somewhere in Bhuvaneśvara, but now missing, was incised in the 18th year of the reign of Uddyotakeśarī, Lord of the three Kaliṅgas. From the published texts the late Dr. Kielhorn compiled the following summary of this inscription: "Janamejaya of the lunar race, his son Dīrgharava, and his son Apavāra who died childless; after him, Vichitravīrya (another son of Janamejaya), his son Abhimanyu, his son Chaṇḍīhāra, and his son Uddyotakeśarin, whose mother was Kolāvatī of the solar race."[2] Beyond this we do not know anything of Uddyotakeśarī. If his ancestor, Janamejaya, is the same as Mahābhavagupta of the Soma-vaṁśī dynasty of Mahākośala, then, inspite of his affix *Keśarī* he cannot be taken to be a descendant of the Kara dynasty.

A king of Orissa with the affix Keśarī continued to rule over some part of Orissa till the middle of the 11th century A. D. Among the feudatories who combined to recover Northern Bengal for the Pāla king, Rāmapāla, is mentioned Jayasiṁha of Daṇḍabhukti, who is said to have uprooted king Karṇakeśarī of Utkala. The campaign for

[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 165-6, no. XIV.*

[2] *Ibid., Vol. V. App. p. 90, no. 668 ; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII; 1838, pp. 558 ff. pl. XXIV.*

the restoration of Rāmapāla to Northern Bengal cannot have taken place later than 1060 A. D., and therefore, Jayasiṁha's defeat of Karṇakeśarī must have taken place some time earlier. Uddyotakeśarī is called "the Lord of Trikaliṅga" in the lost Bhuvanesvara inscription but in the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin Karṇakesārī is styled the Lord of Utkala, [1] evidently because by that time the rest of the three Kaliṅgas had been conquered by the Eastern Gaṅga king, Vajrahasta, who ascended the throne in 1038 A. D.[2] In 1078 A. D., Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga made an end of all minor dynasties, including, perhaps, Karṇakeśarī who was ruling over Northern Orissa, adjoining Daṇḍabhukti or the modern district of Midnapore, as the last representative of his dynasty. We do not know whether Karṇakeśarī belonged to the Kara dynasty or the lunar dynasty of Uddyotakeśarī.

Appendix I

A new copper plate grant was discovered recently in the State of Hindol and is in the possession of the chief of that State. I am indebted to Pandit Tarakeśvar Ganguli of the Mayurbhañja State for an indifferent photograph of two sides of this plate. The inscription is one of Śubhākara of the Kara dynasty, but it mentions a new line in the ancestry of the Kara kings. In the third line it is stated

1 *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 36 ; Rāmacharita, II. 5, commentary.*

2 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 17, list no. 22.*

that when Lakshmīkara and other kings had gone to heaven, in that family was born the illustrious Śubhākara (L1. 3 & 5). The *Bhaum-ānvaya* is mentioned in the beginning of L. 3. The son of this Śubhākara was Śāntikara (L. 7). His son was born of Tribhuvana *Mahādevī*, (L. 10), the Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śubhākaradeva II. The grant was issued from Śubhadeva-Pataka in the year 18(? 9)3 of the bright half on the seventh day of Śrāvaṇa. The charter records the grant of the village of Rohila or Roḍḍila in the district (*vishaya)* of Northern Tosali, to the god Vaidyanātha dedicated in the temple (*Āyatana)* of Pulindeśvara. Half of the village was to be given to Vaidyanātha for *tapana*, scents, flowers, lamps, incense, *naivedya, vali*, *charu,* and *pūjā* as well as for the maintenance of the temple-servants and the repairs of the temple and the other half for the supply of *Satra*, *kaupīna,* etc., of Śaiva ascetics. I have not been able to read the inscription completely or satisfactorily from the photograph supplied to me, because the copper plate was plentifully sprinkled with powdered chalk before it was photographed. The genealogy of the first group of Kara kings stands as follows :

Kshemaṅkara
Param-opāsaka
|
Śivakara
Parama-Tāthāgata
|
Śubhakara
Parama-Saugata (Neulpur plate).

The genealogy of the first dynasty of Kara kings is

carried on for several generations by the Chaurasi plate. Thus we have :

Kshemaṅkara
|
Śivakara I-Jayāvali
|
Śubhakara-Mādhavadevi
|
Śivakara II

The genealogy of the second group of the Kara kings is longer and more complicated :

Unmattasiṁha
⋮
Gayāḍa
⋮
Loṇabhāra

Kusumabhāra — Lalitabhāra

Śāntikara — Śubhākara II

According to the Dhenkanal plates of Tribuvana *Mahādevī*, she was the wife of Lalitabhāra, but, according to the Hindol plates, Tribhuvana Mahādevī was the wife of Śāntikara. Whether this is a mistake of the Dhenkanal inscription due to the imperfection of my own decipherment, cannot be determined at present. The donor of the new Hindol plate should, therefore, be Śubhakara II. Lakshmīkara mentioned as the ancestor of the second group of Kara kings is a new name which has not been met with before.

CHAPTER XII

THE BHAÑJA DYNASTIES

The Bhañjas of Orissa are undoubtedly the oldest representatives of the Royal dynasties of Ancient Orissa. They are much older than the Gaṅgas or the Somavaṁśis and as such the modern States ruled over by them are far more important for the study of the ancient and mediæval history of that country than any of their neighbours. The present Chiefs of Mayurabhañja claim descent from the Kachhvāhā clan of Rajputs, because when the Mughals conquered Orissa, the people of Orissa found that the Rajputs were the principal Hindu nobles in the Mughal Empire and it became a fashion in Orissa to claim Rajput origin. Even dynasties which were ancient when the Hūṇas were being civilised into Rajputs, began to claim Rajput descent. Thus we find the Vizianagram House claiming to be descended from Rajputs in 591 A. D., a period when the very name Rajput was unknown in India. Following this fashion the Bhañjas of Orissa began to claim Rajput descent forgetting the fact that their ancestors were great kings in their own country when the Pratīhāras and Chāhamānas were uncouth barbarians. Therefore, we find in the Gazetteer of the Feudatory States of Orissa that, "the Mayurbhañj State was founded some 1300 years ago by one Jai Singh, who was a relative of the Raja of Jaipur in Rajputana. Jai Singh came on a visit to the shrine of Jagannāth at Puri and married a daughter of the then

Gajapati Raja of Orissa and received Hariharpur as a dowry. Of his sons, the eldest, Adi Singh, held the *gadi* of the Mayurbhañj State. The annals of the Mayurbhañj Raj family, however, say that Jai Singh came to Puri with his two sons, Adi Singh and Jati Singh, the elder of whom was married to a daughter of the Puri Raja.

"When returning home Jai Singh conquered Raja Mayuradhwaja, then holding the *gadi* of Bamanghati. In the vernacular almanac written annually in the Mayurbhañj State, this Bamanghati is regarded ever since that period as the original place of residence of the Raj family, and the State is called after Mayuradhwaja. In every State-seal the design of a peacock was introduced as a family distinction. According to family tradition, the limits of the State of Mayurbhañj from the year 1538 A. D. up to the year 1831 extended to Bhañjbhum and Khelor *parganas* in the north; to the Balasore district in the east; to the Nilgiri State in the south-east; to the Baitaraṇī river in the south, and Porahat and Dhalbhum Raj in the west."[1]

The fallacy of this statement has been proved by more than one writer. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar stated in 1925 that the Bhañjas of the present day Mayurbhañj, Keonjhar and Baud are in no way related to or connected with the early Bhañjas who founded the State of Mayurbhañj.[2] He points out clearly that the dates recorded in the family annals are absurd as Man Singh's expedition or rather that of his son, Jagat Singh, did not take place before 1589.

[1] *Bengal Gazetteers. Feudatory States of Orissa, Calcutta, 1910, p. 239.*

[2] *Orissa in the Making, p. 119.*

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar did not observe that the present town of Jaipur was founded by Mahārājā Sawai Jai Singh II during the reign of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48) and Amber was not the capital of the Kachhvāhās till the 14th century, when they were known as the kings of Dhundhar or even Gopadri or Gwalior. He believes that like the so-called Chauhān or Chāhamāna Chiefs of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur group, the present Bhañjas were new-comers in Orissa in the 16th century A. D. There was no Man Singh in Rajputana thirteen centuries ago and it is extremely doubtful whether the Kachchhapaghāta or the Kachhvāhā Rajputs existed as a separate clan in 610 A. D. Therefore, this genealogy of the present-day Bhañjas must be regarded to be as fictitious as that of the Chauhāns of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur group.

Forgetful of their ancient past the modern Bhañjas employed some extremely ignorant person to carve out a Rajput genealogy for them in the 17th or the 18th century. From epigraphical and historical documents it can be proved that the Bhañja rulers occupied and ruled over parts of Orissa, almost in unbroken succession, till our times, and at the end of the examination of the documents relating to them one must come to the only possible conclusion, that the present Bhañjas are lineal descendants of the ancient Bhañjas.

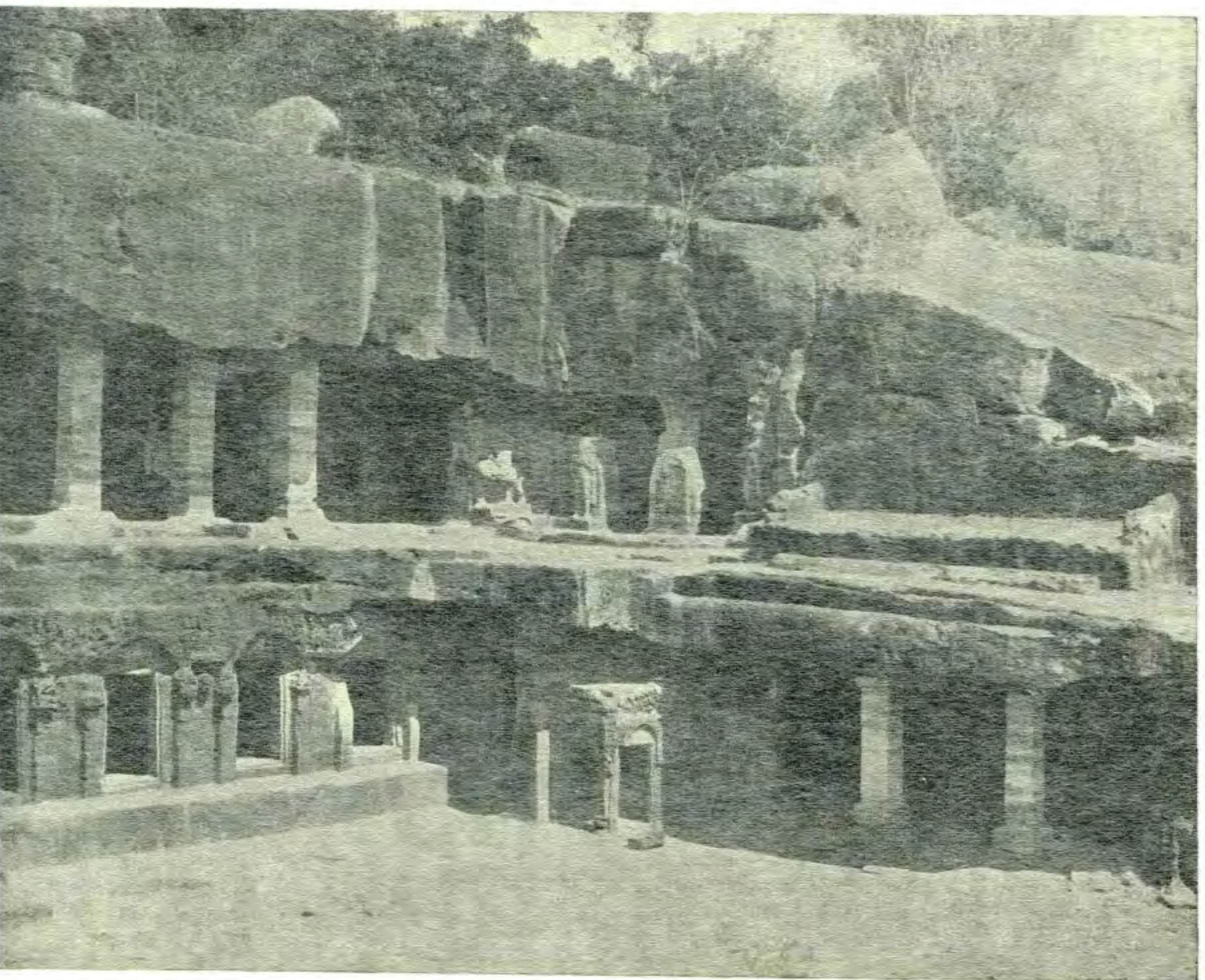
The Bhañjas came to the forefront for the first time in the beginning of the 9th century. The earliest known Bhañja Chief is Neṭṭabhañja I, who lived in the 8th century and is known only from one landgrant recently discovered in the Baudh State. There is no genealogy of the donor in this inscription and the legend of the birth of the

ancestor from an egg is also omitted. By his charter king Neṭṭabhañja granted a field called Stamvakāra launḍaka, in the district *(vishaya)* of Tulāśriñga, to a Brāhmaṇa named Mādhavasvāmin of the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* of the Yajurveda, and the Kāṇva-Parāśara-*gotra* for the merit of (his) deceased queen, Vāsaṭa, on Thursday the third *tithi* of the dark half of Kārttika of the 18th year of his reign. The next king of the Bhañja dynasty was most probably, Śatrubhañja, who is known to us from several landgrants, but it is also possible that his father Śilābhañja I was also a king. A village called Śilābhañja-pāti is mentioned as the place of residence of the donee of a Somavaṁśī grant.[1] The earliest inscription of this king is not dated and was discovered some time before 1898 in the State of Sonpur. According to this charter, Śatrubhañja was the son of Śilābhañja. He was born of the family produced out of an egg *(Aṇḍajavaṁśa-prabhava)* and the only title used is *Parama-vaishṇava.* The charter records the grant of a piece of land called Milupadi in the district of Royarā to a Brāhmaṇa named Kṛishṇa of the Kāśyapa *gotra* who was an immigrant from the village of Ālāpa and belonged to the Sāmaveda. It was sealed with the Royal Seal by Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi.[2] Among the places mentioned, the name of the district, Royarā, is perhaps the same as that in the Sonpur State.[3] The next inscription of Śatrubhañja was discovered in April 1916 in the village of Kumurukelā in the same State. The charter was issued on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika of the 18th year

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. III, p. 354.*

2 *Ibid., Vol, XI. pp. 98-101.*

3 *Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 200.*



Rani Nur Gumpha—Right Half of the central wing and the right wing—Udaygiri

of the reign of Śatrubhañja, and it records the grant of the villages of Jaintāmurā and Kumurukelā situated in the Uttarapallī to a Brāhmaṇa named Manoratha of the Kāśyapa *Gotra* and the Bahvṛcha *Charaṇa* who was an immigrant from Vaṅgakūṭi and an inhabitant of Gandhaṭāpaṭi.[1] In this record Śilābhañja is not mentioned but another person named Angati (perhaps Angaṭṭi) is brought in as the ancestor of the king. The mention of the name Gandhaṭa-pāṭi as the name of a village in this inscription and of Gandhaṭa as the remote ancestor of Raṇabhañja I in the Baudh plates of the year 54 proves that Gandhaṭa was one of the remote ancestors of Śatrubhañja. The undated Sonpur plates show that the order was addressed to the officers of the *Maṇḍala* of both the Khiñjalis (*Ubhaya-Khiñjali-Maṇḍala*) but the Kumurukelā plates contain an order addressed to the officers of the *Maṇḍala* of Khiñjalī. Both records were issued from the city of Dhṛtipura. A new record of Śatrubhañja has been discovered in Tekkali. This inscription, which is dated, contains the names of the father and grandfather of Śilābhañja I. The legend about the birth of the ancestor from an egg is omitted in this record. By this charter Śatrubhañja, son of Śilābhañja I, grandson of Pallagambhīra and great-grandson of Yathā-śukha, granted the village of Kantamulla in the district (*vishaya*) of Salvadda to two Brāhmaṇas of the Vaśishṭha *gotra* named Vishṇusvamin and Nārāyaṇaswāmin. The charter is dated [V. S.] *800 Kārātika Sudi 8* or October 744 A.D.

Though Śilābhañja I is mentioned in two only of the

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 429-35.*

three charters of his son Śatrubhañja, he is known to us from many inscriptions of his grandson Raṇabhañja I. Thus he is mentioned in the Singhara plates of Raṇabhañja I of the regnal year, 9, in the Baudh unpublished plates of the same king of the regnal year 28, and the Chakardharpur plates of this king of the regnal year 24. The birth of the ancestor of the dynasty from an egg is mentioned in two grants only but this account is further elaborated in the inscriptions of his successors. The mention of the legend shows that the legend of the birth of the founder of the dynasty from the egg of a pea-hen was very well-known even at that time. Nothing is known of the manner in which Śatrubhañja acquired independence. The fact that he presumed to issue grants of land even though he dared not assume royal titles openly shows that he was merely a rebellious vassal of the Kara Kings who had usurped royal functions. From the fact that he is mentioned as being in possession of both the Khiñjalis shows that he ruled over both banks of the Mahānadī. His son and probably his immediate successor, Raṇabhañja I, gradually assumed independence. Śatrubhañja is styled a *Rāṇaka* in his charter of the 15th year of his reign but is called simply a devout worshipper of Vishṇu in the earlier inscriptions. His son, Raṇabhañja I,[1] gradually rose from the rank of a Rāṇaka to that of a Mahārāja. Raṇabhañja I was a Rāṇaka in the 9th year of his reign when the Singhara plates were issued. This charter contains the names of Śilābhañja and Śatrubhañja as the ancestors of the

[1] I have discussed the necessity of calling Raṇabhañja, son of Śatrubahñja, Raṇabhañja I, in my paper on the Baudh plates of Kanakabhañja *Ibid., Vol. XIV, 1928.*

donor, who is called the master of both the Khiñjalīs, who had obtained the five great sounds and whose feet were worshipped by the great feudatories (*Mahāsāmantas*). It was issued from the city of Dhṛitipura and it mentions the dynasty as being founded by a person produced out of an egg. It records the grant of the village of Singhara-Mahallopi in the Dakshiṇa-pallī Bhogī-Khanda of the Khiñjalī *Mandala*, situated on the banks of the river Vyāghra to a Brāhmana named Vihe of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, of the Yajur-veda, an inhabitant of Gandhatapāti who had emigrated from the village of Bhadrapalāśi in the country of Magadha (Magaha) in the 9th year of the king's reign. The inscription was incised by the goldsmith and merchant, Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍī. In this inscription Ranabhañja I is called the devout worshipper of the goddess Stambheśvarī and of Śiva.[1] The next known inscription is the Ṭāsapāikerā grant. In this inscription the only ancestor of Raṇabhañja I mentioned is Śatrubhañja. In this record also we find the king mentioned as the lord of both the Khiñjalis, Rāṇaka, a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, born of the family produced from an egg and one who has obtained the five great sounds as well as the favour of the goddess Stambheśvarī. The charter records the grant of the village of Ṭāśapāikerā on the river Mahānadī in the Uttarapallī division. The king is called the Lord of both Khiñjalīs. The donee was Śrīdhara, a Brāhmana of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, an inhabitant of the village of Kāmāri, who belonged to the Mādhyandina branch of the Yajur-veda and who was an immigrant from Bhaṭa Nirola. The grant was issued in

1 *Ibid., Vol. VI, 1920, pp. 481-86.*

the sixteenth year of the king's reign on the 6th day of an unspecified month. It was engraved by the goldsmith Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi.[1] The Chakardharpur plates of the same king were issued in the 24th year. They were discovered in the village of Chakardharpur in the State of Daspalla. In this inscription Śilābhañja I is mentioned as the grandfather and Śatrubhañja as the father of Raṇabhañja I. The charter was issued from Dhṛitipura and in it Raṇabhañja I is mentioned as the Lord of both the Khiñjalis, one who has obtained the five great sounds, the boon of the goddess Stambheśvarī, born of the family produced out of an egg, the devout Vaishṇava and Rāṇaka. It records the grant of the village of Tulendā in the district (*Vishaya*) of Tullāsiṅgā in the *Mandala* of Khiñjalī to Padmākara of the Kṛishṇ-ātreya *gotra* and of the Chhandoga *Charaṇa* and the Kauthuma *Śākhā* of the Sāmaveda, who was an immigrant from the village of Pechipāṭaka in the *Maṇḍala* of Varendrī (Northern Bengal) and an inhabitant of Burallā. The inscription was incised by the merchant and goldsmith Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi.[2] In the Baudh plates of the year 26th Raṇabhañja I is mentioned as the son of Śatrubhañja, master of both the Khiñjalis, one who has obtained the five great sounds, who was saluted by the great Sāmantas, one who had obtained the favour of the goddess Stambheśvarī and Rāṇaka. The charter was issued from Dhṛtipura and records the grant of a piece of land to the south of the river Mahānadī and east of the river Śālaṅkī named Ballāśṛṅgā in the Khātia district

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1916 pp. 167-77.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. VI, 1920, pp. 266-74.*

(*Vishaya*) of the Khiñjalī *Maṇḍala*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmodara of the Maudgalya *gotra* and the Kāṇva *Śākhā* of the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* of the Yajur-veda, who was an emigrant from the Bhaṭṭa village of Khaduvā-pali in the Middle country (*Madhya-deśa*), on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśirsha of the year 26 of the reign. After the death of the donee the grant was given to his son Chhadoka. The charter was written by the merchant and goldsmith, Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi.[1] The village of Vallāśṛiṅgā has been identified with Bālāsiṅgā about two miles from Baudh and situated on the confluence of the rivers Sālki and Mahānadi, and the district of Khātiā with the pargana of Machhiakhaṇḍa of the Baudh State.[2] A new charter of Raṇabhañja I was discovered in the State of Baudh in 1915 and sent by the Political Agent of the Orissa Feudatory States. A summary of the contents of the inscription was published by the late Rai Bahadur H. Krishṇa Śāstrī in the annual report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for the year 1916-17, (p. 4, para. 5). The charter gives the names of Śilābhañja and Śatrubhañja as the grandfather and father of Raṇabhañja I. The object of this charter is to record the grant of the village of Vāhiravāḍā on the banks of the Mahānadı and included in the Dakshiṇapali district of the Khiñjali *Maṇḍala* to the god Vijayeśvara by the Mahādevī Vijyā or Vidyā, the daughter of the Rāṇaka Niyārṇama. Raṇa-bhañja I is called the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, born in the family produced from an egg, Lord of both the Khiñjalis, one who had obtained the five great sounds and

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 326-28.*
2 *Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 300.*

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the favour of the goddess Stambheśvarī, whose feet were worshipped by the great Sāmantas and Rānakas. The actual donor of the plates is the *Parameśvarī Mahādevī* Vijyā (Vidyā or Vijayā) the daughter of the *Rānaka* Niyārnama, who is evidently the principal queen of Ranabhañja I. The date of this inscription is expressed in the form of a curious chronogram *Indu-Vāk-Viṁśati-Varshe* which would ordinarily mean the year 2011 of some era. But evidently the writer meant *Vāk* to mean 1 and to add it with *Indu*, 1, to twenty, thus making twenty-two. This charter was also engraved by the merchant and goldsmith Śivanāga, son of Paṇḍi.[1]

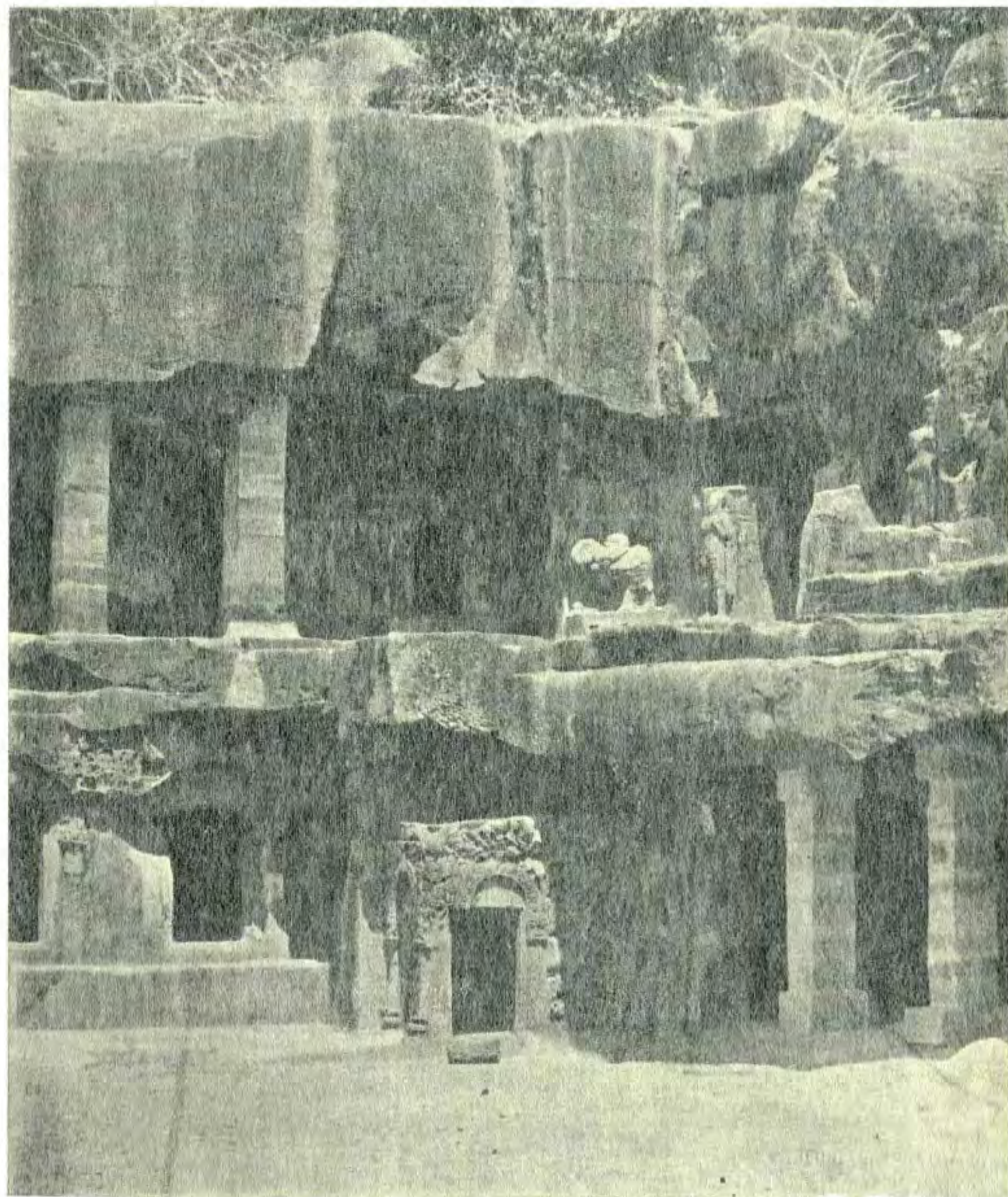
The last known inscription of Ranabhañja I in which Śilābhañja I and Śatrubhañja are mentioned is an undated record recently discovered in the Baudh State. In this grant also the King is styled a Rānaka, one who has obtained the five great sounds and the favour of the goddess, Stambheśvarī, and who was born in the family produced from an egg. By this charter the King granted the village of Amvasāri in the Dakshinapali, the *khaṇḍa* of Śivara, of the *Maṇḍala* of Khiñjali to a Brāhmaṇa named Devahara, who had emigrated from the middle country and was an inhabitant of the village of Hṛishipadraka, who belonged to the Kāṇva *gotra*, the Aśvalāyana *Śakhā* and the Vahvṛicha *charaṇa* [of the Ṛig-veda]. The charter was written by Padmanābha, son of the merchant Pāṇḍi, an inhabitant of Gandhaṭapāṭi, who also composed the grant of the year 9 of the same king. This grant was also issued from Dhṛitipura. The last but one charter of Raṇabhañja I was issued from Dhṛitipura in the year 54 of his reign. In this inscription the only ancestor of the

1 This inscription is being published in the Epigraphia Indica.

king mentioned is Gandhaṭa, who gave the name Gandhaṭa-pāṭi to the village mentioned above. For the first time Raṇabhañja I is styled Mahārāja in this record in which all other titles are dropped. There is a gap of 28 years between the Baudh plates of the year 26 and this charter. Therefore, Raṇabhañja must have assumed the royal title within this period of 28 years. His father Śatrubhañja had no titles at the beginning, then he became a Rāṇaka. But his son, after remaining a Rāṇaka for at least 26 years, assumed the title of Mahārāja. The charter records the grant of the village of Koṇatinthi in the district (*Vishaya*) of Khātiyā in the *Maṇḍala* of Khiñjali to a Brāhmaṇa of the Rohita *gotra* and the Chhandogya *charaṇa* and Kauthuma *Śākhā* of the Sāma-veda called Bhaṭaputra whose name has been omitted through negligence. The donee had immigrated from the village of Apilomuleri and was an inhabitant of Amvasarasarā. The grant was issued on the New Moon day of the month of Bhādrapada in the 54th year of the king's reign. It was written by the Sāndhi-vigrahiya Himadatta and engraved by the Ārkaśāli Gonāka.[1] Koṇatinthi has been identified with Kontuani about two miles south of Baudh and Amvasarasarā with Ambasarabhitta in the Sonpur State, about 12 miles from Baudh.

Another grant of Raṇabhañja I, exactly similar in style and composition to the Baudh plates of the year 54, has been discovered in the Baudh State. In this grant also the only ancestor mentioned is Gandhaṭa and the draft is exactly the same as that of the grant of the year 54. Raṇabhañja I is called *Mahārāja* and born of the family

[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 322-25.*



Rani Nur Gumpha, Udaygiri

produced from an egg. The charter records the grant of the village of Turulla in the district (*vishaya*) of Tulla-śriṇgā of the Khiñjali *Maṇḍala*, to a Brāhmana named Śubhadāma of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajur-veda *charana*, who had emigrated from the village of Takārī in the Sāvathi (Śrāvastī) country and was an inhabitant of Bhatta-Tadala in the Oḍra country, on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna of the 58th year of the king's reign. The grant was drafted by the Sāndhi-vigrahika Himadatta, who also drafted the grant of the year 54.

In the majority of his charters Ranabhañja I is styled "Lord of both the Khiñjalis." Many of the villages or the districts in which such villages were situated were on the river Mahānadī. Mr. Hira Lal is inclined to identify Khiñjali with Keunjhar. There were two divisions of Khiñjali and he conjectures these two divisions to be Upper and Lower Keunjhar. The identification is very tempting, because Mr. Parmananda Acharya informed me when he was excavating at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district of Bengal with me during the winter of 1925-26 that the common people of Panchpir in the Mayurbhañja and Keonjhar States speak Kenjhari and not Kendajhari, which is phonetically very much near to Khiñjali. But modern Keonjhar is far away from the Mahānadī and, therefore, it is extremely doubtful whether Keonjhar should be identified with Khiñjali unless one is prepared to admit that Keonjhar at one time extended as far as the Ghumsur *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district. The villages mentioned in the charters of Ranabhañja I indicate that they were situated in the country on both banks of the upper reaches

of the Mahānadī. There is no indication yet of the conquest of the Koṅgoda country or Southern Orissa in the reign of Raṇabhañja I. Only one capital, Dhṛitipura, is mentioned, which has not been identified as yet.

We do not know as yet who succeeded Raṇabhañja I, but one of his sons, Netṛibhañja II, issued grants of land, three of which have been discovered up to date. Out of these three sets of charters two were discovered in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency in 1917. These charters were issued from a place called Vijayavañjulvaka. In this inscription there are two verses at the beginning. In the prose portion it is stated that Netṛibhañja II was the great grandson of Śilābhañja I, grandson of Śatrubhañja and the son of Raṇabhañja. The king is not given any other title except that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva. The charter records the grant of the village of Rātaṅga in the district (*Vishayā*) of Vāsudeva-*khaṇḍa* to a Brāhmaṇa named Golasarman Agnihotrī of the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* and the Kāṇva *Śākhā* of the Yajur-veda and of the Kauśika *gotra* and two others named Gaulaśarman II and Guha-śarman. The messenger, Dūtaka, of the grant was the Bhatta Maṅgala and it was composed by the *Sandhi-vigrahika* Śivarāja. The engraving was done by the Akshaśāli (perhaps the same term as *Ārkāśāli* of the Baudh plate of Raṇabhañja I of the year 54) Durgadeva. There is no date in this inscription and we find the *birudā*, *Dharma-kolaśa*, of Netṛibhañja II in the first part of the inscription.[1] The village of Rātaṅga has been identified with Rottongo in the Ghumsur *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district and Vāsu-

[1] *Epi. Ind. Vol. xviii. pp.* 293-95.

deva-*khāṇḍā* with Vāsudevapur, four miles from Rataṅga.[1] The next grant of Netṛibhañja II, recently discovered, was also issued from the same place and is not dated. We find the same *birudā* for the king and no other titles. The charter records the grant of the village of Machchhāda in the Machchhāḍa-Khaṇḍa to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhatta-Rudaḍa (Rudraṭa) who belonged to the Vātsa *gotra* and the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* of the Yajur-veda. Machhāḍa-grama has been identified with Machhgaon in the Cuttack district, and the district of Machhāḍa-Khaṇḍa with the district around Machhgaon by Mr. Hira Lal. This Machhgaon is a port in the Cuttack district about nine miles from the Devi estuary, but Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu is inclined to identify Machhāḍa-grāma with Majhigaon in the Berhampur *taluqa* of the Ganjam district.[2] The third inscription of Netṛibhañja II was discovered somewhere in the Ghumsur Taluqa of the Ganjam district in the earlier part of the 19th century and its contents were published in 1837,[3] which was reprinted by Sj. Nagendranatha Vasu *Prāchya-vidyā-mahārṇava-Siddhānta-vāridhi*.[4] There was a date in this inscription which cannot be read unless it is *Samta* I for Samvat 1 and the 7th day of the bright half on the month of Māgha. Like the previous two grants of the same king this charter was also issued from Vijayavañjulvaka. It does not give any title to Netṛibhañja II except that of a devout worshipper of Śiva and

1 *Epi. Ind., p. 301.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 301-03.*

3 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 669.*

4 *Mayurabhañja Archæological Survey, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1911. App. pp. 146-49.*

the *birudā of Kalyāṇakalaśa.* The same genealogy is given. The charter records the grant of the village of Machchhāḍa in the Machchhāḍa-*Khaṇḍa* district to two Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* and the Vātsa *gotra* named Indradeva and Ādityadeva, this village of Machchhāḍa was given to Rudraṭa, a brother of the present donees, by the second grant, but the proportion of these three brothers is not determined in the grant.

In the case of Netṛibhañja II it is sure that his father's capital Dhṛitipura was no longer in his possession and he had changed his capital to Vijayavañjulvaka. None of these two places have been identified as yet. If Machchhāḍa is in the Cuttack district then Netṛibhañja II was in possession of Central and Southern Orissa from the Devi estuary to the Kudala Taluqa of the Ganjam district ; but if Machchhāḍa is Majhigam in the Berhampur Taluqa then he was driven out of Khiñjalī after his father's death and sought refuge in Southern Orissa. I am inclined to favour the latter identification, because the places mentioned in other charters of Netṛibhañja II and his grand-nephew Vidyādharabhañja are all in the Ganjam district.

Netṛibhañja II had another brother named Digbhañja. His son was Śilābhañja II and his son Vidyādharabhañja is the next king of the Bhañja dynasty of whom we possess records. We possess no means of ascertaing whether Netṛibhañja II was succeeded by his own son or by his brother Digbhañja. Again, we are not in a position to ascertain whether Vidyādharabhañja's father, Śilābhañja II, was a king or not, because it is also possible that after the extinction ot the direct line of Netṛibhañja II in the second

or third generation after him, his brother's grandson succeeded him. Vidyādharabhañja is known to us from two inscriptions, only one of which was published in 1887 and the other in 1917. The plates published in 1837 were in the possession of Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, then Commissioner of the Orissa division, and are now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The verses in the beginning of this inscription are the same as those to be found at the beginning of the three charters of Netṛibhañja II. This inscription was also issued from Vijayavañjulvaka but is not dated. The genealogy begins from Raṇabhañja I, who was the great-grandfather, then came Digbhañja and after them came Śilābhañja II, who was the father of Vidyādharabhañja. The king possessed the *birudā* of *Āmogha-kalaśa* and in the genealogical table his great-grandfather and the king himself are given the titles of *Mahārāja*, but no titles are given to his father and grand-father. The object of the charter was to grant the village of Mūla-Machhāḍa (the original village *minus* the outlying hamlets) in the district of Machchāḍa-khaṇḍa to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa-Purandara of the Rauhita *gotra* and of the Vājasaneya *charaṇa* of the Yajur-veda who was an immigrant from the village of Mamana in the district of Tāḍisamā in Varendrī. The grant was composed by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Stambha and engraved by the Akshaśāli Kumārachandra. The order was sealed by the queen from Trikaliṅga through the agency of the minister Bhaṭṭa Keśavadeva.[1] Mr. Hira Lal has wrongly identified the village of Mamana with Mandara in the Ghumsur *Taluqa* and Tāḍisamā with Tāḍasiṅgā in the same *Taluqa*, on the

[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 296-8.*

supposition that the name of the province is Varebdhi; but this is clearly Varendhī and equal to Varendri or Northern Bengal.[1] The only other known inscription of Vidyādhara-bhañja was discovered in the Ghumsur *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district, while two charters of Netṛibhañja II and one of Vidyādharabhañja were discovered at Aska in the same district. The Ghumsur plates were also issued from Vijayavañjulvaka. They agree in all respects with the recently discovered charter of the same king. The object of the second charter is to record the grant of the village of Tuṇḍurava in the district of Rāmalavva to a Brāhmaṇa of the Aupamanyava *gotra* and of the Vahvṛicha *śākhā* named Bhaṭṭa Dārukhaṇḍi. The grant was written by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Stambha and engraved by Akshaśāli Kumāra-chandra. It was entered or recorded by Keśava and sealed by the queen from Tri-Kaliṅga through the agency of the minister (*Mantrin*) Stambhadeva.[2] The mention of the Tri-Kaliṅga *Mahādevī* in these two charters of Vidyādhara-bhañja shows that he had married in the family which was then ruling over Tri-Kaliṅga. The village of Tuṇḍurava has been identified with Tuṇḍura in the Aska *Taluqa* and the district of Rāmalavva with Rāvulabado in the same *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district.[3] Vidyādharabhañja was succeeded by his son Netṛibhañja III (Neṭṭabhañja) who is known from one inscription only. A set of three plates discovered in the State of Daspalla bears this inscription. This grant is not dated and was issued from Vijayavañjulvaka. By this charter the King granted a

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 301.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 271-77.*

3 *Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 301.*

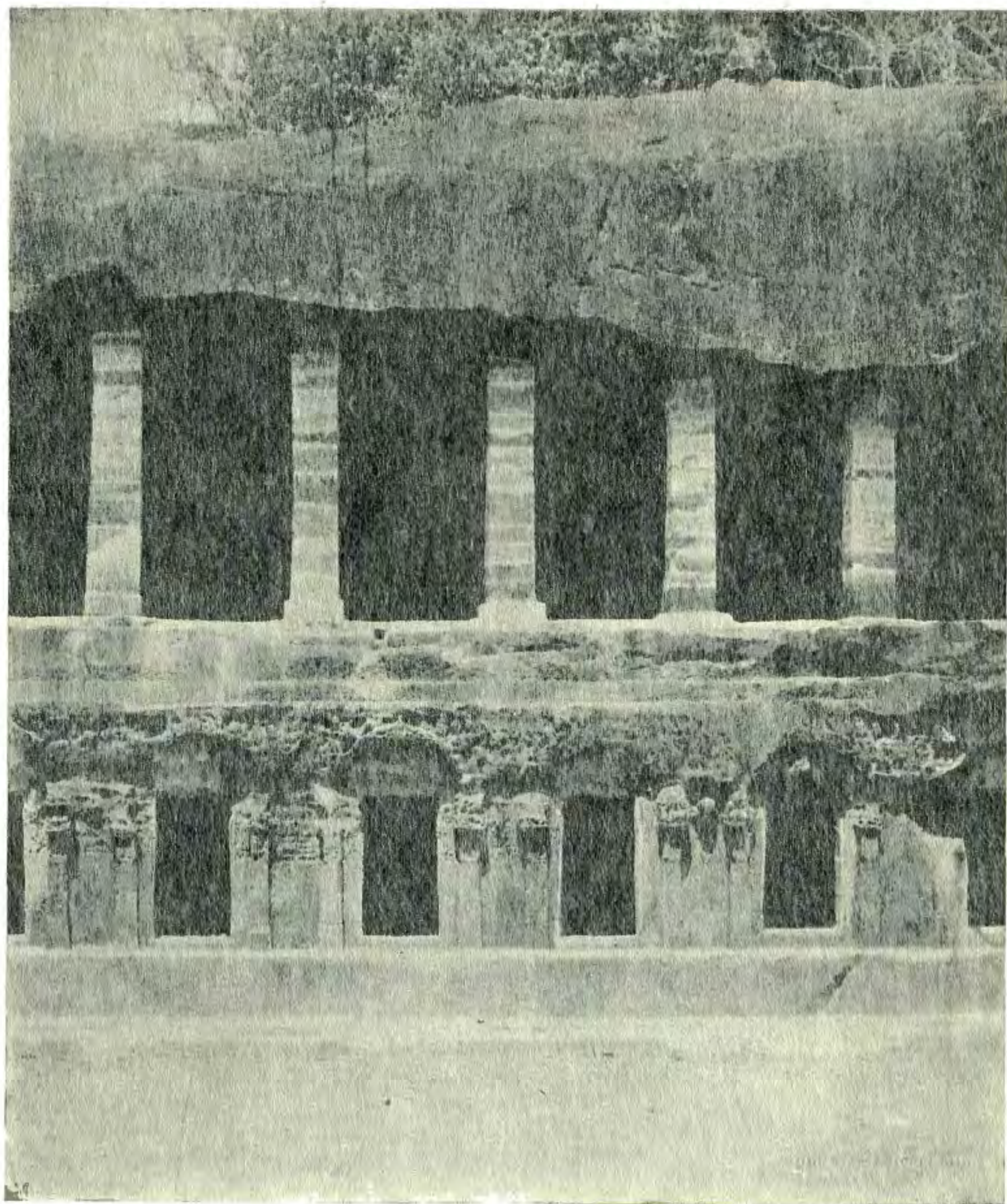
field called Valkākhaṇḍa in the village of Drolladā in the district (*vishaya*) of Rāmalavva in the Maṇḍala of Khiñjali to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Purushottama of the Krishṇātreya *gotra* and the Chhandaga *charaṇa* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāmaveda. The charter was sealed by Jaya *Mahādevī*, recorded by the minister Bhaṭṭa Bāpuka, entered by the *Mahāpratīhāra* Kumāra and composed by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* Jayastambha. The mason, Durgadeva,[1] engraved one of the charters of this king's father. The dynasty founded by Śilābhañja I and Śatrubhañja appears to have come to an end after the death of Netṛibhañja III or one or two of his immediate successors. Netṛibhañja II, Vidyādharabhañja and Netṛibhañja III ruled at Vijayavañjulvaka and not at Dhṛitipura. The villages granted by them were for the most part situated in Koṅgoḍa and not in Khiñjali but Netṛibhañja III regained control over Khiñjali. It is, therefore, certain that they ruled over a kingdom which extended over the Ghumsur and Aska Taluqas of the Ganjam district. We do not know what became of them and how their rule came to an end in Southern Orissa.

The next group of Bhañja kings ruled over the territory now occupied by the Bhañja Chiefs of Mayurabhañja and Keonjhar. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to connect them with any of the kings of the dynasty founded by Śilābhañja I. Their genealogy begins with a king called Koṭṭabhañja, whose son was Digbhañja II, and his son, Raṇabhañja, is the first known king of this group of the Bhañja dynasty. Many different scholars

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, 1920 pp. 276-79.*

have tried to identify this dynasty with that founded by Śilābhañja by assuming that both Raṇabhañjas were one and the same person. They assume that Koṭṭabhañja was the same as Śilābhañja I and Digbhañja the same as Śatrubhañja, but the difference in the forms of the characters and the radical difference in the names of the fathers and the grandfathers prove definitely that the Raṇabhañja of these two groups must be different persons. The genealogy proposed by Mr. Hira Lal, therefore, cannot be accepted as correct.[1] The second group of Bhañja kings is known from three inscriptions only, all of them grants of land. Two of them were discovered at Bamanghātī in the Mayurbhañja State and the third at Khaṇḍadeuli in the Daspalla State. Unlike all other Bhañja grants the plates of Raṇabhañja II and his son, Rājabhañja, are single plates. The only connecting link between the first and the second group of Bhañja kings is to be found in the legend of the birth of the ancestor of the dynasty from an egg. The phrase *Āṇḍaja-vaṁśa-prabhava* to be found in the charters of Śatrubhañja I and Raṇabhañja I is omitted in those of Netṛibhañja II, Vidyādharabhañja and Netṛibhañja III. The same legend is given in a more elaborate form in the inscriptions of the second group. The Bamanghātī plates of the second group of kings mention that the *Gaṇadaṇḍa* Vīrabhadra was born in Koṭṭāśrama from the egg of a pea-hen and was nursed by the renowned sage Vaśishṭha. In his family was born Koṭṭabhañja and his son was Digbhañja II. From him was born Raṇabhañja II, who was a constant resident

1 *Ibid., p. 286.*



Rani Nur Gumpha, Udaygiri

of Khijjiṅga-koṭṭa. This is the first time that Khijjiṅga is mentioned in Bhañja history. The charter is dated in the year 288 of some unknown era and records the grant of four villages named Timaṇḍira, Nankolaḍā, Jamvupadraka and Pāsanna in the district of Uttarakhaṇḍa, which included the districts of Koraṇḍiyā and Devakuṇḍa, to a son of the *Mahāsamanta* Maṇḍi.[1] The *Koṭṭa* or fort of Khijjiṅga is certainly modern Khichiṅg, about ninety miles from Bāripada, the present capital of the State. Jambupadraka has been identified with Jamda, eight miles west of Bamanghāṭī, Timaṇḍira, with Tendra, south-west of Bamanghāṭī, Koraṇḍiyā with Korinjiya, five miles from Khiching and Devakuṇḍa still exists under the same name about seventy-five miles west of Bāripada and eight miles of Bamanghāṭī in the Mayurbhañja State. Even the mythical *Koṭṭāśrama-Tapovana* has been identified with Kuting, thirty-two miles from Bāripada.[2] The second group of Bhañja kings are remarkable for the special form of the draft of their land-grants. Three grants of this group of kings are known and in these they use a different verb altogether. These charters are the Bamanghāṭī and Khaṇḍadeuli plates of Raṇabhañja II and the Bamanaghāṭī plate of his son Rājabhañja. In all of these plates we find that the term *Kuśalī* or *Kuśalinaḥ*, used as an adjective of the king in the prose portion immediately after his proper name, is omitted. Instead of the usual verbs, *Manayati*, *Bodhayati* and *Samādiśayati*, these three plates use the phrase *S-ānunaya prāhaḥ*. The names of the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* or *Dūtaka*, and the mason are

1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XL, 1871, pp. 161ff.*
2 *Epi. Ind.; Vol. XVIII, pp. 300-301.*

omitted in the first of these two plates. The want of any title in the case of Raṇabhañja II and his son Rājabhañja prove that they were minor chiefs and not kings though the term *king* is applied to them in the metrical portion. The absence of any title, regal, imperial or subordinate at a time when even petty kings had assumed the imperial titles of the Gupta period, *Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*, is extremely significant. It proves that the second group of Bhañja kings were subordinates to some higher power. According to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, the year 288 of the Bamanghātī plate of Raṇabhañja II is a date in the little known Gaṅga era and is equivalent to 1066 A.D., which, if correct, would make the second group of Bhañja kings slightly earlier than the Eastern Gaṅga kings Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Raṇabhañja II was most probably succeeded by his son, Rājabhañja. We know this Chief from one charter only. In this record Koṭṭabhañja is made the father of Raṇabhañja II and the name of Digbhañja is omitted altogether. The legend of the ancestor of the dynasty having been born out of the egg of a pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśishṭha is mentioned as well as the fact that the king always resided in the fort of Khijjiṅga. The charter records the grant of the village of Brahmaṇa-vasti in the district of the same name included in Khichiṅga to Subrahma, son of the Sāmanta Muṇḍi. This Muṇḍi is probably the same as the Mahāsāmanta Maṇḍi, the donee of the Bamanghātī plate of Raṇabhañja II of the year 288. There is no date in the Bamanghātī plate of Rājabhañja.[1] The village of

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XL, 1871, Part 1, pp. 161 ff.*

Brāhmaṇa-vasti has been identified with Brāhmaṇavas, six miles from Bamanghāṭī and the district of the same name with the present sub-division of Bamanghāṭī in the Mayurbhañja State.[1] In these two plates the peculiar title *Gaṇa-daṇḍa* applied to Vīrabhadra, the ancestor of the dynasty, is taken by Mr. Hira Lal to be the same as Gandhaṭa, the ancestor of Raṇabhañja I. This is hardly possible, as the mention of Gandhaṭa-pāṭi as the name of a village in three grants proves that the name Gandhaṭa is quite different from the term *Gaṇa-daṇḍa*.[2] This term *Gaṇa-daṇḍa* has been correctly translated as "the office of a Hindu Republic," and it would appear that the ancestor of Raṇabhañja II was an officer with such a designation.

The third inscription of the second group of Bhañja kings is exactly similar to the two just described. It was discovered at Khaṇḍadeuli near Bamanghāṭī in the Mayurbhañja State. It also mentions that the ancestor of the second group of kings was the *Gaṇa-daṇḍa* Vīrabhadra and he was born out of the egg of a pea-hen and was nurtured in the hermitage of the sage Vaśishṭha. In his family was born Koṭṭabhañja, his son was Digbhañja, and his son was Raṇabhañja II who resided in the fort of Khijjiṅga. The actual grant was made by Narendrabhañja, the son of the king's natural son (*Āupayik-ātmaja*) Pṛithvī-bhañja. By this charter the king gave the village of Bonulā in the district of Uttarakhaṇḍa in the *vishaya* of Sidhāhimbā to a Brahmaṇa named *Bhaṭaputra* Rañchho. Like the preceding two charters there is no date in this

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 301.*

2 *Ibid., p. 286.*

one and the names of the officers are omitted.[1] Mr. Hira Lal differs from the learned editor of the Khaṇḍadeuli plate and thinks that the actual grantor was Narendrabhañja.[2] The form of the grant shows that the grantor was Raṇabhañja II and not his grandson, as the phrase *Sānunaya prāhaḥ* shows. We do not know who succeeded Rājabhañja and what became of the Bhañjas in the intervening period between the second group and the third of the Bhañja dynasty. Some time later we find the third group of the Bhañja kings ruling over Northern Orissa, but in the absence of dates it is impossible to measure the difference in time which elapsed between these two. The third group of Bhañja kings are known to us from two charters and a stone inscription. The charters were issued by two brothers named Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja, who were the sons of Rāyabhañja II and the grandsons of Vīrabhañja. From the charter of Yaśobhañja discovered at Antirigrām in the Pūrvakhaṇḍa sub-division of the Ganjam district, we learn that the third group of the Bhañja kings traced their ancestry up to their fifth ascendant. The first ancestor mentioned is Devabhañja and his son was Rājabhañja I. A small votive inscription discovered at Khichiṅg by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda mentions a king named Rāyabhañja, who may be Rāyabhañja I.[3] Vīrabhañja, the grandfather of Yaśobhañja

[1] *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 172-77.*

[2] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 292.*

[3] The Rai Bahadur supposed that Rāyabhañja was the Prākrit form of Rājabhañja. Evidently he was not aware of the discovery of the Antirigrām plates of Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja, though the discovery of these records was announced as early as 1918 in the *Annual Report*

and Jayabhañja, was the son of Rāyabhañja I. The charter of Yaśobhañja is not dated, nor are any officers mentioned. The grant records the donation of the village of Komyāna in the district of Boḍā to a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Yajur-veda named Jagadhara-Śarman, who was well-versed in the Vedas, law and astrology and who had immigrated from the village of Madhyavapabhūmi in the district of Thihara and was an inhabitant of the village of Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka in the district of Kontaravañju, on the occasion of Vishṇu's waking, on the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārtika. The only important historical information in the grant is to be found in the mention of the king as the lord of all the Khiñjali country and that he was the victor over Jagadekamalla.[1] The village of Komyāna has been identified with Konomona in the Chatrapur *Taluqa* and the district of Boḍā with Bodda Paṭṭi, three miles from Konomona in the Ganjam district. The village of Paṭṭavādapaṭaka has been identified with Patatupuram, Kontaravaṅga with Kotayagaḍa in the Chatrapur *Taluqa* and Vapabhūmi with Boppaṅgi in the Ghumsur *Taluqa* of the Ganjam district.[2] The charter of Jayabhañja was also discovered in the same village. It begins the genealogy with Vīrabhañja and mentions Rāyabhañja II as the father of Jayabhañja. This charter was also issued in the third year and uses the titles of Rājā and *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* in the case of the king.

of the Asst. Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, 1917-18, p. 137. The mistake has not been corrected in the Rai Bahadur's latest publication on the ruins of Khichiṅg.

1 *Ibid., pp. 298-99*

2 *Ibid. p. 302.*

The grant records the donation of the village of Reṅgaraḍā in the district of Khiñjalīya-gaḍa on the occasion of a Lunar eclipse to a Brāhmaṇa named Jagadhara, an astrologer of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Mādhyandina *Śākhā*, who was an immigrant from the Brāhmaṇa village of Ṭakāri in the Madhya-deśa and an inhabitant of the village of Paṭavaḍa-paṭaka in the district of Kontarā-vaṅga in Southern Toshala on the full moon day of the month of Jyaishṭha of the third year of the king's reign. The inscription mentions a number of officers by name. The heir-apparent minister (*Rajaputr-āmatya-yuvarāja*) was the Akshapaṭali or record-keeper and his name was Vīrabhañja. The *Sāndhi-vigrahi*, the *Akshapaṭali* or record-keeper was Vajradatta. The minister of peace and war (*Sandhī-vigrahi*) was Punanāga. The chief of the royal guards was Bhupāla. The law officer of the crown was Arapaṭa. Four other persons mentioned are *Rānaka*, named Lakshmī-kalaśa, the royal maternal uncle Jathināga and two private persons named Khaṇḍapāla and Purañjaya. This charter differs from other later Bhañja charters in one fact ; it records the name of the writer, the merchant Gaṇeśvara.[1]

The dates of the third group of Bhañja kings depend upon the identity of Jagadekamalla mentioned in the charter of Yaśobhañja. Who this Jagadekamalla was, we are not in a position to determine definitely. In the list of Northern inscriptions compiled by Kielhorn there is no Jagadekamalla and the only chief who could be contemporaneous with Yasobhañja is the Mehāra chief Jagamalla,

1 *Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 43-5*

a feudatory of the Chālukya king Bhīma II of Gujarat, of v. s. 1264-1207 A. D. In the list of Southern kings we know some Jagadekamallas : the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṁha II, Jagadekamalla II of the same dynasty ; Jagadekamalla Malladeva of the Bāna family of the Andhra country ; Jagadekamalla Permāḍi I of the Sinda family ; all of whom are too early for Yaśobhañja. Similarly Jagaddeva defeated by the Kākatīya Proḷa is also too early.[1] After Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja we do not know what happened to the Bhañja kings. These two kings are certainly later than the Eastern Gaṅga kings, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and his immediate successors. They appear to have assumed the royal privilege of granting land during the rule of the weak later Gaṅgas who followed Narasiṁha I.

The Bhañjas appear to have assumed the regal status for the first time under Raṇabhañja I and to have lost it immediately afterwards. Raṇabhañja II and his son were mere feudatories without any symbol of royalty. In the time of the third group they were also located in Northern Orissa and remained so up to the rise of the Sūrya-vaṁśa dynasty. But from the time of the first group of kings scions of the dynasty had spread over Northern and Central Orissa, from Mayurbhañja, Keunjhar and Baudh in the North to Ghumsur and Jaipur in the extreme south. They remained in the flat country adjoining the hills, assuming independence when chance offered but professing fealty to the supreme power when the three great divisions were united under some powerful dynasty. The present chiefs of this dynasty must have migrated in Northern Orissa from Jaipur in the Madras Presidency and not

1 *Ibid., Vol. VII, App, p. 189.*

from Jaipur in Rajputana. The Bhañjas, therefore, ruled over a very extensive area in Orissa and though they did not rule over the whole of it they are clearly one of the oldest royal families of India and the oldest ruling dynasty of Orissa.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF BHAÑJA KINGS

1st Group

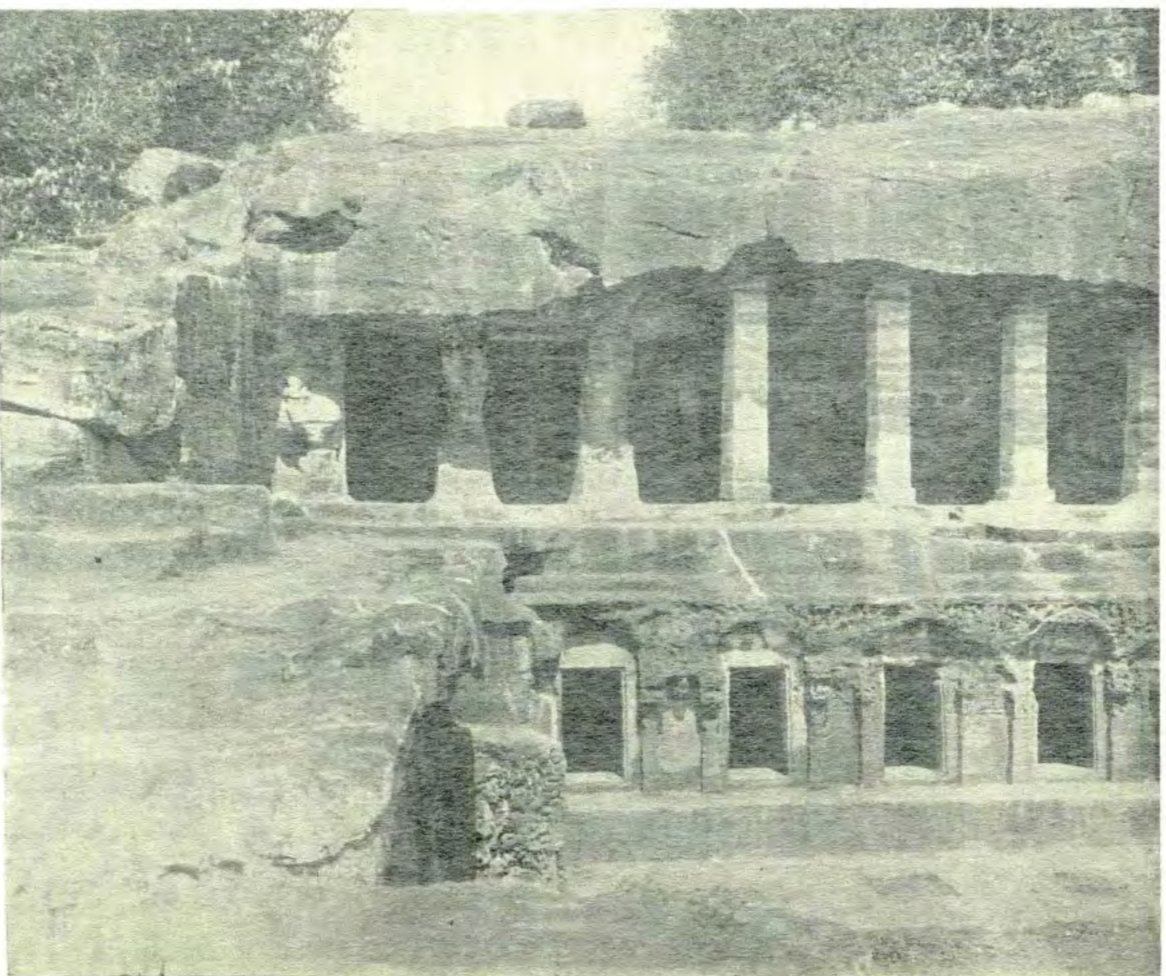
Śilābhañja I
|
Śatrubhañja
|
Raṇabhañja I
├── Netṛibhañja II
└── Digbhañja I
    |
    Śilābhañja II
    |
    Vidyādharabhañja
    |
    Neṭṭabhañja III

2nd Group

Koṭṭabhañja
|
Digbhañja II
|
Raṇabhañja II
├── Rājabhañja
└── Pṛithvībhañja
    |
    Narendrabhañja

3rd Group

Devabhañja
|
Rāyabhañja I
|
Vīrabhañja
|
Rāyabhañja II
├── Yaśobhañja
└── Jayabhañja



Rani Nur Gumpha—Left half of the upper storey—Udaygiri

APPENDIX II

The genealogy and the chronology of the first and second groups of Bhañja Kings are gradually taking shape on the basis of new discoveries. The most important discovery of Bhañja records is that of a charter of Śatrubhañja at Tekkali. I received pencil rubbings of this important inscription from Mr. Parmananda Acharya of the Mayurbhañja State. This inscription supplies us with the names of the father and the grand-father of Śilābhañja I, Yathāsukha and Pallagambhīra, who are not known from any other inscription. This inscription also supplies a regular date, *Samvat 800*, evidently of the Vikrama era for Śatrubhañja. All other inscriptions of the first group of Bhañja kings are dated in regnal years. If Śatrubhañja, the father of Raṇabhañja I, was reigning in V. S. 800-744-45 A.D., then it becomes certain that the long reign of Raṇabhañja I must fall in the last quarter of the 8th century or the first half of the 9th century A.D. This fits in with my supposition that Raṇabhañja I rose into power during the temporary decline in the fortunes of the Karas.

Pt. Tārakeśwar Gānguli kindly gave me five sets of charters recently discovered in the Baudh State for decipherment. One of these five bears the charter of a new king of the Bhañja dynasty named Neṭṭabhañja. This charter is the oldest inscription of the dynasty. It is incised on thin plates of copper and its characters are the oldest used on any known charters of the Bhañja family. The genealogy of Neṭṭabhañja is not given and the charter is

dated in regnal years only. It does not mention the descent of the Bhañja from the egg of a pea-hen or the goddess Stambheśvarī or even the Bhañja family. I have assigned this Neṭṭabhañja to the Bhañja dynasty on account of the affix *Bhañja*. The date of this grant is *Samvat 18 Kārttika Vadi Vri 3*. As the relationship of this Neṭṭabhañja to Śatrubhañja and Śilābhañja is not known, his name is not given in the genealogy printed above; but Netṛibhañja, the son of Raṇabhañja I, has been styled Netṛibhañja II, and Neṭṭabhañja, son of Vidyādharabhañja, Neṭṭabhañja III.

CHAPTER XIII

TUṄGAS, ŚULKIS AND NANDAS

In the dark period which intervenes between the fall of the Kara dynasty and the conquest of Northern Orissa by the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, several petty dynasties ruled over different parts of Orissa. Among them the best known are the Śulkis, Nandas and the Tuṅgas. At one time I supposed that the term Śulki was a modern corruption of Śolāṅki, *i. e.*, Chālukya or Chaulukya of the inscriptions, but the discovery of the Haraha inscription of the Maukharī Īśānavarman of v. s. 611-554 [1] has placed the Śulkis in a different position. We learn from the 13th verse of this record that :

"Who, being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the sea-shore, in future to remain within their proper realm.[2]"

This proves that even in the middle of the 6th century A. D., the Śulkis occupied some portion of Orissa between the Gauḍas of Bengal in the North, and the Andhras in the South. The Śulkis are known from a number of their grants on copper plates, the majority of which were discovered recently in the Dhenkanal State of Orissa.

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XIV, pp. 110-21.*

2 *Ibid., p. 120.*

Previous to this discovery this family was known from two inscriptions only of Kulastambha. The late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti, the pioneer of historical research work in Orissa, published the earliest known grant of the Śulki kings in 1895, but at that time the dynasty and the mediæval history of Orissa was so little known that even the name of the king, Kulastambha, could not be correctly read.[1]

The next inscription was discovered sixteen years later and was brought to notice by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu in three separate publications :

(1) *The Archæological Survey of Mayurbhañja Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.*

(2) *Baṅger Jātīya Ithihās, Vaiśya Kāṇḍa, pp. 303-04.*

(3) *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. XVIII, pp. 59 ff.*

According to the genealogy given in this inscription Kāñchanastambha was an ornament of the Śulki family. His son was Kalahastambha *alias* Vikramāditya. His son was Raṇastambha and his son, again, Kulastambha. This Kulastambha is called *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and a Rāṇaka. Immediately before his name, but without any epithet or word denoting the relationship between the two, comes the name of Raṇastambha, who is styled a Mahārājādhirāja. In 1911 the late Mr. V. Venkayya compelled me to accept Kalahastambha as another name of Raṇastambha. I pointed out to the then editor of the Epigraphia Indica that Raṇastambha being a *Mahārājādhirāja* could not be the same person as Kalahastambha a mere *Rāṇaka*. But the editor thought that according to South Indian Epigraphy

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIV, 1895, pp. 125ff.*

this is the only way of denoting the relationship. Therefore, inspite of the apparent discrepancy the mistake was allowed to stand.[1]

The discovery of the Dhenkanal plates raised more complications which must be studied in detail before the entire situation can be grasped. Plate A of the Dhenkanal collection does not contain any genealogy of the donor, Raṇastambha, who is styled *Mahāsāmantādhipati.* This grant was issued in the year 33 of the dark half of *Kārtika.*[2] Grant B of the same collection is one of Kulastambha who is styled *Mahārāja* and *Gondamādhināṭha,* "The Lord of the Gondamas." Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasād Śastri, the learned editor of the Dhenkanal plates, rightly concludes that at the end of 1.5 of the grant B, certain lines have been omitted which are to be found in plate C of the reign of Jayastambha. In plate B Vikramāditya is mentioned as the first person of the dynasty. The same verse in plate C substitutes Kulastambha's name for that of Vikramāditya. We meet common verses once more in 1.10 of plate B and 1.3 of plate C which introduce Raṇastambha, as in the case of the Talcher plate of Kulastambha edited by me in 1911. Plate B introduces Kulastambha without any connecting word denoting relationship immediately after Raṇastambha.

There is no date in plate B.[3] In plate C, which is more or less complete, we find the name of Kulastambha in 1.2, that of Raṇastambha in 1.4 and immediately afterwards

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 156.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 397-8.

3 *Ibid., pp. 401-03.*

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we find that his son was Jayastambha. This plate also does not bear any date.[1] From this plate it is certainly clear that Kulastambha was the grandfather and Raṇastambha the father of a Jayastambha, who is also styled Lord of all the Gondamas but a Mahārājādhirāja. Plate D of the Dhenkanal set is very simple, as it does not contain any metrical portion. It states that the donor Jayastambha was the son of Nidayastambha. The fifth plate or plate E is also a grant of a king named Ālānastambha, who is styled *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. In the genealogical portion of this plate we find a number of details which confirm the statements of the Talcher plates of Kulastambha. Thus, the first person in the Śulkī family is mentioned as Kāñchanastambha. From him was born Kanādastambha, which is evidently a mistake for Kalahastambha. No other names are legible in the metrical portion of plate B. In the prose portion, which follows immediately, we find Jayastambha, the son of Ālānastambha, as the donor.[2] We are, therefore, faced with a number of varying genealogies of kings bearing similar names. All of these kings belong to the same locality, as all the plates were issued from Kodāloka or mentioned that place as the locality from which the order was issued. In order to understand the genealogical portion it will be necessary to place all of them together :

I. The Talcher plate states that the donor Kulastambha was the son of Raṇastambha, grandson of Kalahastambha and the great grandson of Kāñchanastambha.

[1] *Ibid., pp. 406-7.*

[2] *Ibid., pp. 413-15.*

II. Dhenkanal plate A : Raṇastambha, no genealogy, but the year 33.

III. Dhenkanal plate B : Kulastambha, his father Raṇastambha, his father Vikramāditya but no date.

IV. Dhenkanal plate C : Jayastambha, his father Raṇastambha and his grandfather Kulastambha, but no date.

V. Dhenkanal plate D : Jayastambha and his father Nidayastambha, but no other name and no date.

VI. Dhenkanal plate E : Jayastambha, his father Ālānastambha, his father Kanadastambha (probably a mistake for Kalahastambha) Vikramāditya and his father Kāñchanastambha.

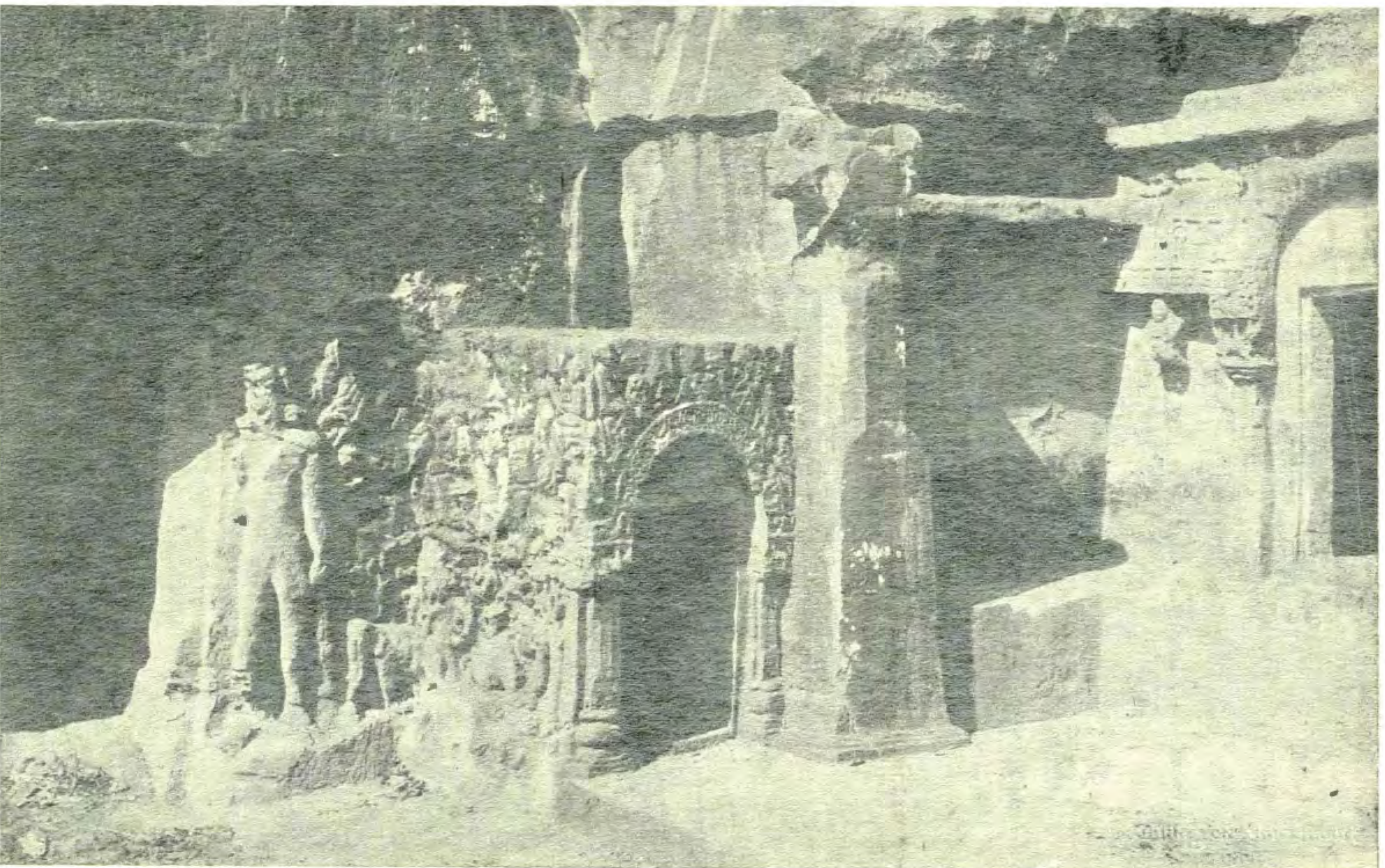
VII. Orissa plate of unknown locality : Raṇastambha, his father Kulastambha and his grandfather Kāñchanastambha.[1]

VIII. Puri plate of Raṇastambha,[2] son of Kulastambha.

The plate from some unknown locality (plate VII in the list given above) in Orissa proves the Northern extremity of the territory of the Śulkīs. As proved by my teacher Mahāmahopādyāya Dr. Hara Prasad Śastri, this charter of Raṇastambha records the donation of some land in the village of Jāṛā in the sub-district (*Khaṇḍa*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Pauchuka, son of Hari, grandson of Baghu of the Kāṇva *Śākhā* of the Yajur-veda. After mentioning the boundaries of the land to be granted the scribe mentions that the *Khaṇḍa* was situated in the district (*Maṇḍala*) of

1 *Ibid., pp. 168-71.*

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old series, Vol, LXIV, 1895, pp. 125-26.*



Small shrine in right hand corner of the ground floor—Rani Nur Gumpha

Rāḍhā. Rāḍhā has already been proved by me to belong to Western Bengal, consisting of the major part of the modern Burdwan Division.[1] The village and sub-district of Jāṛā has been correctly identified by the learned editor of this plate with a village of that name in the modern district of Hooghly. Jāṛā was until lately a very large village near the boundary of the districts of Hooghly and Midnapur. The learned editor also notes that there is a body of cultivators in the district of Midnapur who call themselves Śuklī and trace their origin to a place called Kedāloka. The term Śuklī has been produced, without any doubt, by the modern Sanskritizing tendency from the old Śulkī, and Kedāloka is without doubt the Kodāloka of the inscription. The Śulkīs, therefore, belong to Northern Orissa, which once contained the modern district of Midnapur. With the exception of this information there is nothing of historical importance in the whole range of Śulkī inscriptions.

Plate A of the Dhenkanal series records the grant of the village of Kolāṁpoṁka to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Sudarśana of the Gautama *gotra* and the Vājasaneya *Śākhā* of the Yajur-veda. The most interesting feature of this grant is the mention of Stambheśvarī as the tutelary deity of the Śulkīs. In the cases of other dynasties of Orissa this goddess Stambheśvarī is called the deity who had given boons to the kings of the Bhañja dynasty. Plate B of the Dhenkanal set is by the same Kulastambha who granted a Talcher plate. This prince is styled a Mahārāja and the Lord of the *Gondas*. The charter

[1] *History of Bengal Vol. I (Bengali) 2nd Edition, B. S. 1330, pp. 322, 327 ; N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 69; 94.*

records the grant of the village of Jhaṛabāḍā in the *Khaṇḍa* of Goyilla in the district (*Maṇḍala*) of Śaṅkhajoti to a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa *gotra* of the Mādhyandina *Śākhā* named Bhaṭṭa Bṛihaspati, who had immigrated from the village of Nidhati in the Middle Country (*Madhya-deśa*). Plate C of the same set was issued by Jayastambha, son of Raṇastambha, who is called *Mahārājādhirāaj* and Lord of the Gondas. This charter records the grant of the village of Chandrapura in the *Khaṇḍa* of Koṅkula in the district (vishaya of Goyilla) apparently of the Kodāloka *Maṇḍala* to a Brāhmaṇa of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, Chhandoga *charana* and Kauthuma *Śākhā* of the Sāmaveda, named Babana, who had immigrated from Kolāñcha. The only interesting point in this record is the name Kolāñcha which is also to be found in the Pachabh plate of Sangrāmagupta.[1] This Kolāñcha is mentioned in the genealogical tables of Bengali Brāhmaṇas as the place from the which king Ādiśūra of Bengal obtained Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas who are regarded as the progenitors of most of the high class Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. It is evident from a comparison of the genealogy that Jayastambha was a brother of Kulastambha being the son of Raṇastambha and the grandson of Kalahastambha *alias* Vikramāditya. Plate D of the same set is also a grant of Jayastambha, who appears to be the same as the donor of the previous grants but his genealogy is omitted. He is simply called son of Nidayastambha. The charter refers to the grant of the village of Llolapura in the

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, 1919, pp. 582-96.*

district (*Maṇḍala*) of Kodāloka to a Brāhmaṇa named Ṛshivaka of the Kāśyapa *Gotra* who had immigrated from Mutavashu on the occasion of a Solar eclipse. Plate E of the same set is also a charter granted by Jayastambha. There is regular genealogy in this inscription consisting of the names of Kāñchanastambha, his son Kanādastambha or Kalahastambha, *alias* Vikramāditya, his son Ālāna-stambha and his son, Jayastambha. The charter records the grant of some village or land in the *Khaṇḍa* of Tahākula in the district (*Maṇḍala*) of Kagabimulā-katmaśiṅga, to a Brahmana named *Chitra-dīkshita* Gobbarahuti-Śraman of the Parāśara *gotra*, who had immigrated from the village of Hastipada. The grant of Raṇastambha from an unknown locality contains the names of Kāñchanastambha, his son Kulastambha or Kalahas-tambha, and his son Raṇastambha. The charter records the grant of some land in the village of Jāṛā in the sub-district or *Khaṇḍa* of the same name in the district or *Maṇḍala* Rāḍhā. In the Puri plate of Raṇastambha the genealogy begins with Kulastambha, his son, whose name is omitted, but is mentioned later on. The entire plate is full of mistakes and it is impossible now to restore any part of it, though many new inscriptions have been discovered in later years. The charter records the grant of the village of Kankanira, in the *Khaṇḍa* of Ulo in the district of Śaṅkhajoṭikā, which is also mentioned in Dhenkanal plate B, to a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra*, of the Yajur-veda, named Vatsapālaka. The second Puri plate records the grant of the village Pajara in the same sub-district to a Brāhmaṇa named Veluka. The discovery of many other inscriptions of

the Sulki dynasty has rendered older speculations of the identity of Kulastambha futile.[1]

The Tuṅgas are known from fewer inscriptions, and the earliest record of this dynasty was published by Prof. Nilmani Chakravarti, M. A., in 1909. This inscription records a grant of land by a king named Gayāḍatuṅga. He is said to have belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and to have acquired royalty for himself. Their original home was Rohitagiri, which is also mentioned as the home of the Chandra kings of Vikramapura or Eastern Bengal. The first king was Jagattuṅga, the grand-father, the second was his son, Salāṇatuṅga, the father of Gayāḍatunga. The charter records a grant in the village of Toro, in the district (*Vishaya*) in the division *Maṇḍala* of Yamagarta to a number of Brāhmaṇas who have immigrated from Ahichchhatra in the United Provinces to the village of Kuruva in the district (*Vishaya*) of Oḍra. The village lands were distributed in the following manner:— (1) one-sixth *Māla* to Dado, son of Govinda, and grandson of Kāka Ojhā, (2) the same quantity to Trivikrama and Purushottama, sons of Vishṇu Dīkshita, (3) one-eighteenth *Māla* to five brothers, Rāmadeva, etc., sons of Madhusūdana, (4) the same quantity to Vishṇu, son of Duvilla, (5) the same quantity to Ghallo, son of Sāha, (6) one-sixth *Māla* to Nārāyaṇa, son of Ghallidāma, (7) one-twelfth *Māla* to the three brothers Śrī-Ghosha, etc., sons of Vedaghosha, (8) one-eighteenth *Māla* to Trilochana, son of Trivikrama, (9) one-thirtysixth *Māla* to Baladeva, son of Avida, (10) one-twelfth *Māla* to Manorava and Devaśarman,

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Part I, Vol. LXIV. 1895, pp. 123-27.*

sons of Pauma, and (11) the same quantity to Sadhovana, son of Ananta. The term *Māla* means a cultivable field which was probably the standard. None of the localities have been identified. The grant is not dated and has been assigned to the 11th century A. D.[1] The second inscription of the Tuṅga dynasty was discovered in the State of Tālcher and was brought to notice for the first time by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu, but was re-edited by me in 1916.[2] This inscription is also a charter of the same king, the genealogy and the historical information is practically the same. This charter records the grant of the village of Vāmaitalla in the district (*Vishaya*) of Tuṅkerā to three Brāhmaṇas. Half of the village went to Devaśarman, son of Padama, one-fourth to Vṛshṭideva, son of Lallada and his son Rāmadeva. The family of Devaśarman had immigrated from the Utharutha Bhaṭṭa or Brāhmaṇa village in the district of Varendra or Northern Bengal to the village of Savir in the district of Oḍra or Orissa. He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the Kāṇva *sākhā* of the Yajur-veda. Vṛshṭideva and his son, Rāmadeva, had immigrated from Śrāvasti and belonged to the Vātsya *gotra*, though his *sākhā* and Veda were the same as that of Devaśarman. The inscription contains the peculiar word *Rupya* followed by the numerals 40 and 4 which cannot be explained. The only other known inscription of this dynasty is the Bonai plate of Vinītatuṅga II. This king belongs to the same family as Gayaḍatuṅga, as

1 *Proceedings and Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 347-50.—Pls. XVII-XVIII.*

2 *The Archæological Survey of Mayūrbhañja, Vol. I, pp. 152ff. With plates ; P. & J. A. S. B. Vol. XII, 1916 pp. 291-5; Pls, III-IV.*

he called an emigrant from Rohitagiri and as belonging to the Śaṇḍilya *gotra* three generations of kings are mentioned : Vinītatuṅga I, his son Khaḍgatuṅga, and his son Vinītatuṅga II ; the charter records the grant of the village of Koinjarī in the district (*vishaya*) of Khambāi, in the *maṇḍala* Yamagartta to a Brāhmaṇa named Harshānala of the Hārīta *gotra*. The donor, Vinītatuṅga II, is styled Mahārāja Rāṇaka, Lord of the eighteen Goṇdas and one who has obtained the five great sounds.[1]

Among the minor dynasties which abounded in Orissa until mediaeval times mention must be made of Jayasiṁha of the Dhenkanal plate. His genealogy is not given in Dhenkanal plate F. But from the mention of the district of Yamagartta it seems that he had preceded the Tuṅgas. The characters are older than the 11th century A. D. The charter was issued from the royal residence at Mandākinī and record the grant of the village of Kāryāṭi in the district of Yamagartta to two Brāhmaṇas named Mahendrasvāmin and Skandasvāmin of the Autathya *gotra* and the Bahvṛicha *charana* of the Ṛigveda.[2] The grant is dated in the year 99 of some unknown era. The donor Jayasiṁha is called Lord of all Gondamas and one who had obtained the five great sounds. A new dynasty of Buddhist Kings of Orissa is known from the Bonai second plate of Udayavarāha. In this .inscription the genealogy begins with Uditavarāha, who belonged to the Mayūra family and was an inhabitant of Tālāi *maṇḍala*, but had emigrated from the hermitage of Vaśishṭha at Chitrakūta.

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. VI, 1619, pp. 238-40.*

2 *Ibid., Vol II, 1916, pp. 416-9.*

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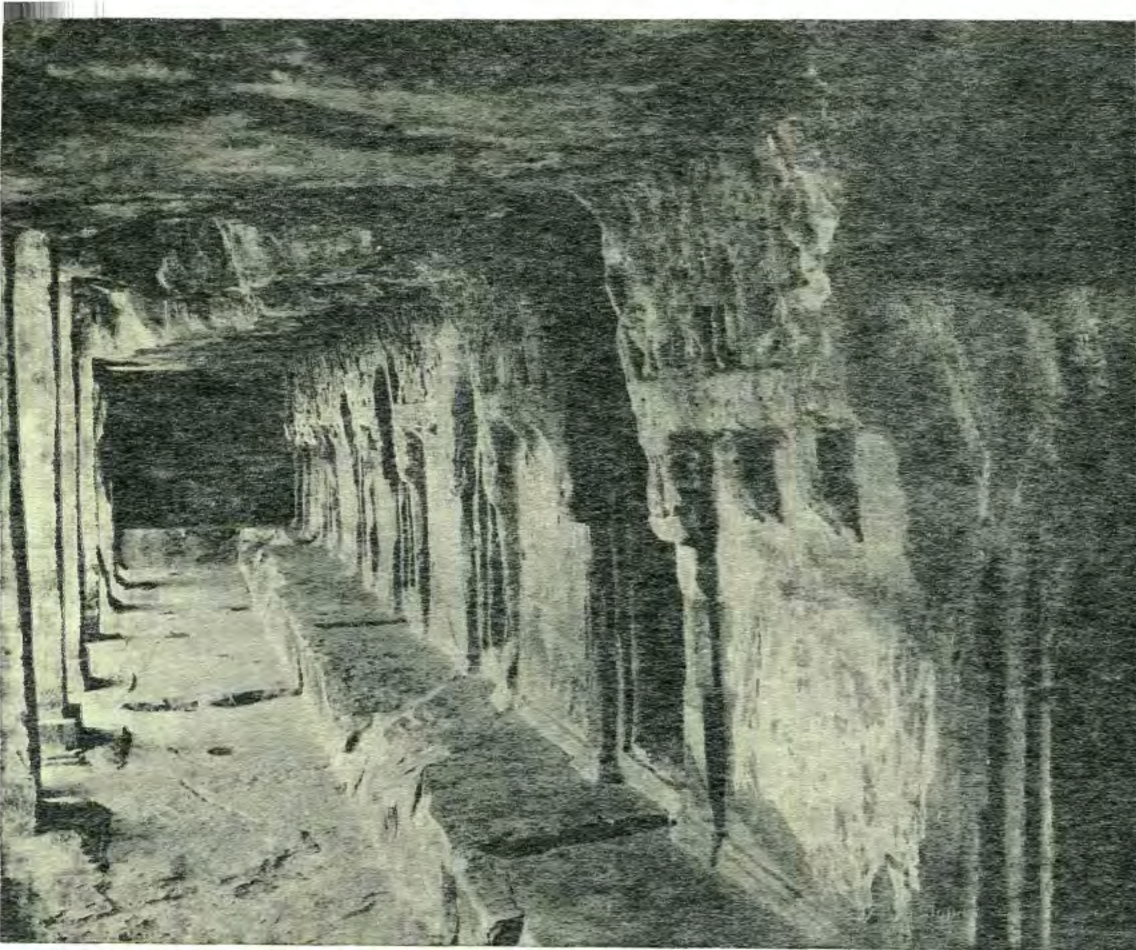
In his famiy was born Tejavarāha (Tejovarāha) and his son was Udayavarāha. The donor is styled Māhārāja-Rāṇaka, who had obtained the five great sounds, and the devout Buddhist (*Parama-sangata*). The charter records the grant of the village of Kondāsamā attached to the *vishaya* of Kokelā, in the *maṇḍala* of Tālai to two Brāhmaṇas named Bhaṭṭa Purushottama of the Parāśara *gotra* and Vājasaneya *charaṇa* of the Yajur-veda and Bhaṭṭa Bachāpā of the Kauśika *Gotra*.[1] Up to the time of writing no other inscription of the dynasty has been discovered.

Another dynasty of little known chiefs of Orissa are the Nandas who are known to us from two inscriptions only. The most important among these two records is a dated inscription recently published by Prof. A. Banerji-Sastri, M. A., PH. D., of the Patna College. The chiefs of this dynasty claimed to be descended from Nanda, who is not specified. It may be the mythical Nanda, the cowherd, the foster-father of the hero-god Kṛshṇa, or it may be the Nanda kings of Magadha. The first chief was Jayānanda, and his son was Parānanda, Parānanda's son was Śivānanda, whose son was Devānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga. The genealogy is exactly the same in the two records discovered up to date. The first of these published by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri was discovered in the state of Dhenkanal. This charter records the grant of a field called Śilodā in the district (*khaṇḍa*) Jārāsama of the Airapaṭṭa Maṇḍala to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhata, who was an inhabitant of Jambuvadā and had emigrated from Khambhavaṇa and belonged to the Navarchhasya *gotra*. This grant is dated in the

1 *Ibid., Vol. VI, 1919, pp. 241-45.*

style of some of the early Gaṇga plates, in which the hundreds and tens are expressed in ancient letter numerals but the units in the decimal notation. The date in this plate appears to be the year 373 of the Harsha era, the bright half of the 5th day of Bhādra[1] equal to August, September 978-79 A.D. In this grant the king's name is written Devānanda in the seal and the metrical portion, but in the prose portion it is written from Dhruvānanda (1. 25). The grant was issued from Jayapura. The second inscription was also discovered in the Dhenkanal State and was handed over to me for publication by Pundit Tarakeśwar Ganguly of the Mayurbhañj State. The genealogy is exactly the same and the king's name is identical both in the metrical and the prose portion. This charter records the grant of the village of Laṁveva in the district (*vishaya*) of Potodā in the province of (*maṇḍala*) Airapaṭṭa to a Brāhmaṇa named Vahmaddhara, who had emigrated from Puṇḍravarddhana or northern Bengal and who was an inhabitant of Nārāyaṇapura. The donee belongs to the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajur-veda and the Kṛshṇātreya *gotra*. This grant is not dated. In both inscriptions the king is called the chief of the great *Sāmantas* ; he is styled a devout Buddhist (*Parama-saugata*) in the dated plate but a Śaiva in the new plate. Nothing further is known about the Nanda chiefs.

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV, pp. 87-91.* The date is not Saka 1373 as the learned editor imagines.



General view of the Corridor—upper storey of the Central wing—Rani Nur Gumpha —Udaygiri, Puri District

CHAPTER XIV

THE SOMAVAṀŚĪ KINGS OF KOŚALA

Sometime in the tenth century a line of kings belonging to the family of the Moon were driven out of the highlands of Mahākośala and forced to take refuge in the forest country now occupied by the district of Sambhalpur and the States of Sonpur and Patna. After the fall of the Kara or Keśarī dynasty they seem to have obtained temporary possession of the level country at the foot of the Ghats and began to use the high sounding title of "Lord of the Three Kaliṅgas" (*Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*). A long-standing connection between Orissa and Somavaṁśī kings is still problematical ; but one scholar, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, has tried to establish, without sufficient reliable evidence, that they were the makers of Orissa. With the exception of one or two kings of this dynasty it cannot be proved that they had any control over Orissa proper. They are known entirely from their charters. The kings of this dynasty founded a small principality in the jungles of Eastern Gondwana in the 7th or the 8th century A. D. They claimed descent from a person named Udayana of the Pāṇḍava family, whose great-grandson, Mahāśiva-Tīvaradeva became the master of the whole of Mahākośala. His younger brother, Chandragupta, was a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratīhara king, Nāgabhaṭa II, of Bhinmal[1]. Chandragupta's descendants used the affix Gupta after their names and his great-great-grandson, Mahāśivagupta, was the founder of a small kingdom in the Eastern part of

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII.*

Mahākośala. His father's name is not known to us and it is quite probable that his grandfather, who bore the same name as this king, Mahāśivagupta and the *biruda* Bālārjuna, was driven out of the ancestral capital, Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces, by the kings of Sarabhapura and kept out of it by the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Tripuri and Ratnapura. We know only four generations of kings of this dynasty in the Eastern part of Mahākośala, out of which only three generations use *birudas* in addition to their official names which are alternately Mahābhavagupta or Mahāśivagupta. Almost all known inscriptions of this dynasty of kings are land-grants engraved on copper plates. The fourth king Udyota-keśarī is known from three stone inscriptions only, in one of which he is connected with the regular Somavaṁśīs of Eastern Mahākośala. He does not bear the regular official title of kings of this dynasty with the affix *Gupta*.

Long ago scholars thought that these petty kings of Eastern Mahākośala were the descendants of the early or the later Imperial Guptas and the name "Guptas of Kośala" was applied to them at one time. For the simple reason that some of their land-grants were discovered in the record-room of the Collector of the Cuttack district, the late Dr. J. F. Fleet named the dynasty Somavaṁśīs of Cuttack, though it could not be proved that they held sway over Orissa proper for any length of time. Their real origin was made clear for the first time by Mr. Hira Lal, when he edited the Sirpur inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna.[1]

1 *Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 184-201.*

The first king of this dynasty known to us from inscriptions discovered in Orissa proper is Mahābhavagupta I, *alias* Janamejaya. This king is known to us only from inscriptions discovered in the States of Patna and Sonpur. The earliest inscription of this king is a grant or charter discovered in the State of Sonpur of the Feudatory States of Orissa. It was issued from the Royal residence or camp of Sonpur in the third year of the reign of the king, Mahābhavagupta I, who meditated on the feet of Śrī-Śivagupta, bore the titles of "Lord of the Three Kaliṅgas." Towards the close of the charter he is called Janamejaya and is given the Imperial titles *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara*. The charter records the grant of the village of Vakratentalī, in the Lupattarā district (*Khaṇḍa*) to a Brāhmana named *Bhāṭṭa-putra*, Jāturūpa, son of Śrīvachchha, who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and the Chhandoga *Charana* and was an emigrant from the village of Phaṁballī-Kandara in Rāḍhā or Western Bengal. With the exception of the regnal year there is no other indication of the date and only two generations of the dynasty are mentioned.[1] Rāḍhā-Phāmvallī-Kandara is identified by Hira Lal with Rairakhol in Orissa and Vakratentalī with Bantentuli in the Sonpur State. The district of Lupattarā is mentioned in the next inscription as Lipatuṅgā, according to the same authority.[2]

The second inscription of this king was issued in the year six and was discovered in the State of Patna. It was issued from the Royal camp of Murasīmā, probably the same as Mursingā, about thirteen miles south of Bolangir,

1 *Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 93.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 198-201.*

the present capital of the Patna State. The same couple of generations are mentioned and both Śivagupta and his son are given full Imperial titles. Mahābhavagupta is called a "devout worshipper of Śiva" in addition to the usual three titles. The object of the charter was to record the grant of the village of Vakaveḍḍā in the district of Oṅgātaṭa to a number of Brāhmaṇas: (1) Dāmaka, an inhabitant of Leiśṛṅgā, an emigrant from Pampāsaras, (2) son of Narapagaṇḍa, an inhabitant of Khaṇḍakshetra who had emigrated from Odayaśṛiṅga, (3) Vasudeva, an inhabitant of Lipatuṅgā, who had emigrated from Koṅkaleḍḍā, (4) Koṇḍaveda, an inhabitant of Pampāsaras, who had emigrated from Kaliṅga. The grant was issued on the eighth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Āshāḍha. As in the preceding grant, the king is called Janamejaya[1] at the close of the inscription. Vakaveḍḍā is identified with Bakṭi, fifteen miles North of Bolaṅgir. Oṅgātaṭa is the district on the river Oṅg, which still exists and separates the State of Sonpur from Patna. Leiśṛṅgā is Loysiṅgā, eleven miles from Bolaṅgir. Khandakshetra has been wrongly identified with the State of Khandapara near the Cuttack district, because the term simply means a field, and has been used in many inscriptions discovered in different parts of Orissa. Lipatuṅgā is probably Lepta, six miles south-east of Bolangir. Odayaśṛṅgā is probably Udayagiri Hill in the Cuttack district. Koṅkaleḍḍa is very probably Koknara in the Bora Sambar Zamindari of the Sambalpur district.[2] The third grant of this king was issued from the same place,

1 *Ibid., Vol. III, pp 340-44.*

2 *Ibid., Vol, XI, p, 198.*

Murasīmā, only a few months later in the same year. It was issued on the 13th day of the bright half of Kārtika in the year six of the reign of the king. The charter records the gift of the village of Pāsitala in the district (*Vishaya*) of Potā to two Brāhmaṇas named Śrīkeśava and Śrī-apya who were inhabitants of Leiśṛṅgā and emigrants from Kommāpīra. The grant was written by the *Mahāsāndhivi-grahika* Koi-ghosha, son of Valla-ghosha, who is also the writer of the first and the second charters,[1] under the supervision of the Mahāsāndhivigrahi Malladatta, son of Dharadatta. The fourth inscription of this king is to be found on a set of plates now preserved in the Nagpur Museum, but their findspot is unknown. This charter also was issued from Murasīmā, spelt Murasīman. The first part is in verse and mentions the king as Janamejaya. The names of the king and his father with Imperial titles are given in the prose portion immediately following. The inscription records the grant of the village of Satallamā in the district of Kaśaloḍā to a Brāhmana named Santhakara who was an inhabitant of Murujuṁga, an emigrant from the village of Purushamaṇḍapa in the Oḍra country and belonged to the Gautama *gotra* and the Mādhyandina *sākhā*. The king is once more mentioned as Janamejaya in the concluding portion of the inscription along with all of his titles. The charter was issued on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika of the eighth year of the king's reign. The order was written by the *Rānaka* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahi* Malladatta, son of Dharadatta and incised

[1] *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. I. 1905, pp. 12-13.*

by the *Kāyastha* Allava.[1] The village of Śatallamā still exists as Satlama in the Sambalpur district and the district of Kaśaloḍa has been identified with Kusarda, fifteen miles south-west of Bargarh and ten miles north-east of Satlama.[2] Three connected charters of this king were issued in the 31st year of his reign by which three villages were granted to one and the same person, a Brahmaṇa named Sādhārana. The first of these charters was brought to notice by the late Raṅgalāla Banerjea in 1875. In this record, issued from a garden or Ārāma, the king is called *Kośalendra*, in the last but one line and the donee, Sādhārana, a minister in l. 37. The *biruda* Janamejaya is not used at all. The grant was issued on the 13th day of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha of the year 31 of the king's reign. The villages granted, Raṇḍā and Alāṇḍalā, were situated in the Povā district of the Kośala country. The next grant of this series of three was seen by Fleet in 1883. This charter records the grant of the village of Arkigrāma in the Tulumva *Khaṇḍa* in the Kośala country. The third grant of this set was noticed for the first time by Rājendra Lāla Mitra in 1882 and it records the grant of the village of Tuleṇḍā in the district of Sandānā in the Kośala country. The donee, Sādhāraṇa, was an inhabitant of Turvvunā in Kośala, but had emigrated from Ṭakārī in Northern India.[3] He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Vājasaneyī śākhā. In addition to being a minister, he was a *Mahattama*. The grants were written by the same Malladatta, who had written the grant of the

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. VIII, pp. 141-3.*

2 *Ibid.., Vol. XI, p. 201.*

3 In the Srāvastī district according to Bhañja grant.

8th year.[1] The village of Raṇḍā had been identified with Reṇḍa, six miles east of Bolangir, Alāṇḍalā three miles east of the same place and the Povā district with Pow in the Sonpur State, nineteen miles south of Binka. Tulumva *Khaṇḍa* has been identified with Turum on the Mahānadī, twenty-sevnn miles south of Sambalpur. The village of Tuleṇḍā has been identified with Tulendi, six miles north of Bolangir in the Patna State.[2]

Up to this time it has been generally supposed that Cuttack was the capital of this line of kings. Some of the inscriptions of this dynasty of kings were discovered in the record room of the Cuttack Collectorate, and in the majority of cases the copper plate inscriptions of this dynasty use the word *Kaṭaka* in naming the place from which the grant was issued. The use of this word persuaded the late Dr. Fleet to assume that Cuttack was their capital. But the word *Kaṭaka* was used in the sense of an encampment and not a proper name. Let us take the example of the Cuttack plates of the year six in the first line of which it is stated :

Om Svasti Murasīma-samāvāsita[ḥ] srīmato vijaya-kaṭakāt.

This simply means "from the victorious camp of the illustrious one situated at Murasīma." But the very similarity of sound persuaded Dr. Fleet to state that, "the charter contained in it was issued from the city of Kaṭaka, which is evidently the modern Kaṭak or Cuttack, the chief town of the Cuttack district in Orissa, while the king was in residence at Murasima, which seems to have been some

1 *Ibid., Val. III, pp. 345-50.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 199.*

place on the outskirts of the city."[1] But this Murasīma has been correctly identified with Mursiṅgā in the Patna State "about thirteen miles south-west of Bolangir, the present capital of Patna State," which is far away from Cuttack.[2] Similarly in the Cuttack plates of the 9th year of Mahāśiva-gupta-Yayāti we find that the grant was issued from Vinītapura,[3] a place which has been correctly identified with Binka in the Sonpur State, which also is far away from Cuttack.[4] Now this Vinītapura has been styled a *Kaṭaka* in the Patna plates of the 8th year of Mahāśiva-gupta-Yayāti.[5] It is, therefore, perfectly clear that Dr. Fleet was mistaken in taking the term *kaṭaka* to be a proper name, and identifying it with modern Cuttack. So far no evidence has been discovered which would enable us to prove that Cuttack or any part of the plains of Orissa was included in the dominions of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. From the third year of his reign till the 31st year he was the ruler of the poorest part of Orissa, the uplands now included in the British district of Sambalpur and the Indian States of Patna and Sonpur. It is, therefore, impossible to agree with Mr. B. C. Mazumdar when he states that "Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta who reigned for not less than 31 years, became the first Adhirāja or overlord of almost the whole of the country designated by the name Orissa to-day by conquering Tri-Kaliṅga, comprised of Utkala, Koṅgada (the district of Puri) and a

1 *Ibid., Vol. III, p. 341.*
2 *Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 198.*
3 *Ibid., Vol. III, p. 352.*
4 *Ibid., Vol. XI. p. 199.*
5 *J. and P. Ā. S. B., Vol. I, 1905, p. 14.*



Details of corner, East wing—Rani Gumpha—Udaygiri

considerable portion of Kaliṅga or the district of Ganjam.[1]"

The evidence of the inscriptions prove clearly and definitely that Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya had no control over any part of Orissa proper and was the ruler of a small area in Eastern Mahā-Kośala, where the majority of inhabitants are aboriginals or half-breed Oṛiyās.

Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya was succeeded by Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti, who was, most probably his son. Mahāśivagupta is stated in his copper plate inscriptions as "meditating on the feet of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya." His earliest known record is to be found on his Maranjamurā plates of the third year of his reign. These plates were discovered in the village of Duṅgri in the Sonpur State, about fourteen miles to the north-east of Sonpur town. The charter was issued from the Royal Camp at Suvarṇapura, *i.e.*, modern Sonpur. The first part of this inscription states that Mahābhavagupta I was the conqueror of Karṇāta, Lāṭa (Gujarat), Gurjara, Kāñchī and perhaps Draviḍa; that he had conquered Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, Utkala, Kośala, Gauḍa and Rāḍhā, and that he had earned the title of *Tri-Kaliṅg-ādhipati* with his own arms. In the prose portion immediately following this we are informed that Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti gave the villages of Bṛihad-bhusāyī in the Bhrāṇḍa district of Kośala and that of Mārañjamura in the Santovardā *Khāṇḍa* of the Sambaravāḍi division (*maṇḍala*) to a Brāhmṇa named Yaśaḥkara of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajur-Veda, who was an immigrant from the village of Hastigrāma in the Middle Country (*Madhya-deśa)*. The charter was issued in the third year of the

[1] *Orissa in the Making, Calcutta, 1925, p. 187.*

reign of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti on the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha and was written by the Rāṇaka Rudradatta, the nephew of Siṁhadatta and the grandson of the *Sāndhivigrahi* Harshadatta.[1] This charter was issued from Suvarṇapura or Sonpur. The second record of the king is the Patna plates of the year eight; they were issued from the Royal Camp at Vinītapura and record the grant of some land in the village of Talakajja with a river named Turadāśānarīya in the district of Sānulā in the Kośala country to a Brāhmaṇa named Kāmadeva of the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the Vājasaneya-Madyandina branch, who was an inhabitant of Jalajaḍḍa in Kośala and an emigrant from Mādhvīla in the eighth year of the King's reign on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha. The order was written by the *Mahāsāndhi-vigrahi* and *Rāṇaka* Dhāradatta.[2] The third record of this king, the Kaṭak plates of the ninth year, is historically the most important. It is the first inscription of this dynasty which refers to a place in Orissa proper. The first part of this inscription is in verse and the name of the place from which the charter was issued is introduced in prose after the fourth verse as *Tasmāt Śrī-Vinītapurāt*, "from that Vinītapura." The next three verses are devoted to Janamejaya and his son, Yayāti. The prose portion gives the complete Imperial titles both to Mahābhavagupta I and Mahāśivagupta. The charter records the grant of the village of Chānda-grāma in the Marada district (*vishaya*) of Southern Tosala to a Brāhmaṇa named Śāṅkhapāṇi of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1913, pp. 52-9.*

[2] *P. and J. A. S. B. Vol, I, 1905, pp, 14-16.*

of the Kauthuma branch of the Sāmaveda, who was an inhabitant of Śilābhañja-pāṭi in the Oḍra country and who was an emigrant from Śrīvallagrāma in the Middle Country. The order was issued in the ninth year of the reign of the king on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Jyaishṭha. The king's name is given towards the end of the inscription as Yayāti. The record was composed by the *Sāndhivigraha* Chhichchhaṭeśa.[1] The most important point established by this inscription is the fact that in the ninth year of his reign Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti had obtained possession of a portion, at any rate, of the flat plains of Orissa. Tosalī or Toshala was divided into two parts, the Northern Toshala around Bhuvaneśvara and Purī, and the Southern Toshala to the south of the Chilka Lake. Toshala is mentioned for the first time in the Dhauli separate edict of Asoka.[2] Vinītapura has been identified with Binka on the river Mahānadī in the Sonpur State. Far more interesting than Toshala is the name Śilābhañj-pāṭi in the Oḍra country of which the donee was a resident. It provides a landmark in the chronology of Orissa and fixes the sequence of the kings of the Bhañja and Somavaṁśī dynasties. Śilābhañja-pāṭi must be a village founded by one of the two Śilābhañjas of the Bhañja dynasty. Śilābhañja I was the father of Śatrubhañja and the grandfather of Raṇabhañja I and Silabhañja II was the father of Vidyādharabhañja. Whichever Śilābhañja may have founded the village it is certain that one of them, at any rate, was the founder of the village which was existing in the time of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. It is, therefore, certain

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 351-4.*

2 *Hultzsch—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicorum, 2nd ed.,*

that one at least of the two Śilābhañjas preceded the second king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty. It is more probable from the nature of the characters of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions that it was Śilābhañja II who was the nearest to Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti in point of time, as Śatrubhañja, the son of Śilābhañja, was alive in 744 A. D. This important point has been totally neglected by scholars like Mr. Hira Lal who want to place Raṇabhañja I in the 12th century A. D. Writers like Mr. B. C. Mazumdar creep over this important point noiselessly.[1] The fourth record of the reign of Mahābhava-gupta-Yayāti is that on the Sonpur plates. There is no metrical portion in this record, which was also issued from the Royal Camp at Vinītapura. By this charter Mahāśivagupta gave the village of Niviṇḍā in the Ganutapāṭa *Maṇḍala* of the Kośala country to a Brāhmaṇa named *Dīkshita* Puṇḍarīka of the Bhāradvīja *gotra*, an inhabitant of Marameṇḍā in Kośala, who was an emigrant from Bhaṭaparoli. The order was issued in the 15th year of the reign of the king on the 13th day of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha and, according to the usual practice the king is called Yayāti at the end of the grant. The charter was composed by the order of *Mahāsāndhī-Vigrahika* and *Rāṇaka* Charudatta by the *Mahākshapaṭalika* Utsavanāga. The fifth record of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti is the Patna plates of the 24th year. This charter was issued from Yayātinagara and the first portion contains a number of verses which introduce Janamejaya and his son Yayāti. In the prose portion immediately following we find these kings named as

[1] *Epi. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 98, note 2.*

Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta with Imperial titles. The charter records the grant of the village of Delāḍelī in the district *(vishaya)* of Teḷātaṭa in the Kośala country to a Brāhmaṇa named Mahodadhi of the Kauśika *gotra* and the Gautama branch, an inhabitant of Antaraḍi in the Lāvaḍā district, who was an emigrant from the village of Kāsili in the *Maṇḍala* of Śrāvastī. The order was issued on the fifth day of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the 24th year of the reign and the king is called Yayāti at the end of the inscription. The order was written by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahī Kāyastha* Tathāgata with the consent of the *Mahāsāndhī-vigrahika* and *Rāṇaka* Dhāradatta, who is also mentioned in the grant of the year 8.[1] Yayātinagara is identified with Vinītapura or Binka and the district of Telātaṭa is the country on the banks of the river Tel, a tributary of the Mahānadī rising in Kalahandi State and joining it at Sonpur. The district of Lāvaḍā has been identified with Lebdā, forty-eight miles south-west of Bolangir in the Patna State.[2] The last known record of Mahāsivagupta-Yayāti was also discovered in the Patna State. In composition it is exactly similar to the charter of the year 24 and was issued from Yayātinagara. The charter records the grant of the village of Luttarumā in the district of Telātaṭa to the same Mahodadhi, who received the previous grants. This order was issued in the year 28 of the reign, on the fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada and was written by a Kāyastha named Sūryasena with the consent of the *Sāndhivigrahi* for Kośala, Siṁhadatta. The last record is the least instructive from the historical point of view, as

1 *P. and J. A. S. B., Vol I, 1905. pp. 16-18.*

2 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 261*

it does not enable us to determine whether the village granted was situated in Kośala proper or not. The mention of the Lāvaḍā district as the residence of the donee and the Telātaṭṭa district in which the village granted was situated indicate that the area was Kośala and not Orissa proper.

Among the inscriptions of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti only two are historically important : the Sonpur plates of the year 3 and the Patna plates of the year 8. We have seen that the inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya do not record any grant in Orissa proper. In all recognisable cases the villages granted are situated in Kośala. But suddenly, three years after his father's death, his successor or son Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti, attributes to him the conquest of the whole of India—Karnāta (the Kanarese districts from Satara and Sholapur to the southern extremity of Mysore and Mangalore in the Madras Presidency), Lāṭa (Gujarat from Patan near Mehsana in the Baroda State to the Thana district of Bombay), Gurjjara (Western Rajputana), Drāviḍa (the Tamil districts from Madras to Tinnevelly), Kāñchī (Modern Conjeveram situated in the Tamil country). The inscription also mentions certain other countries such as Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, Kośala, Gauḍa and Rāḍhā. It was impossible for a petty chief of the highlands of Orissa to launch into a series of campaigns against the powerful dynasties ruling over practically the whole of India. Mahābhavagupta I cannot be seriously credited with the conquest of Karṇāta when the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas existed as ruling sovereigns, nor of Kāñchī and a Tamil-Naḍu so long as the Great Choḷas and even the Chālukya-Choḷas lorded over the Eastern coast land. Similarly, it was

hardly possible for this petty chief of the highlands of Orissa even to approach the Great Gurjjara Emperor of Kanauj or any of their powerful feudatories, such as the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti or the Chālukyas of Anahila-pāṭaka. So also this petty chief would have been hounded out of Gujarat if he had dared to cross the frontiers of Gujarat when that country was ruled by the Chālukyas or even the degenerate Bāghelās. The mention of these countries as having been conquered by Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya is, therefore, mere poetic glorification and the language is most probably borrowed from Bānabhaṭṭa. Similar language has been used in the *Harsha-charita*[1] when that poet describes Prabhākaravardhana. The court poet of King Ratnapāla[2] of Assam copied Bāna's language in glorifying his patron and attributing to him the conquest of countries which the armies of Assam could never have reached. We may believe that Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya may have raided Gauḍa (Northern Bengal) or Rāḍhā (Western Bengal) and perhaps Kaliṅga, Koṅgada and Utkala also which were not included in his dominions. He may have also assumed the meaningless title of *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*; but these things or facts will not go to prove that Mahābhavagupta I had waged war in Kāñchī, the Kanarese districts, Gujarat or Western Rajputana. Even Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, who has always tried to prove that the Somavaṁśī Kings of Kośala were the makers of Orissa, has conceded that the mention of Kāñchī, Drāviḍa, etc., is mere bombast.[3]

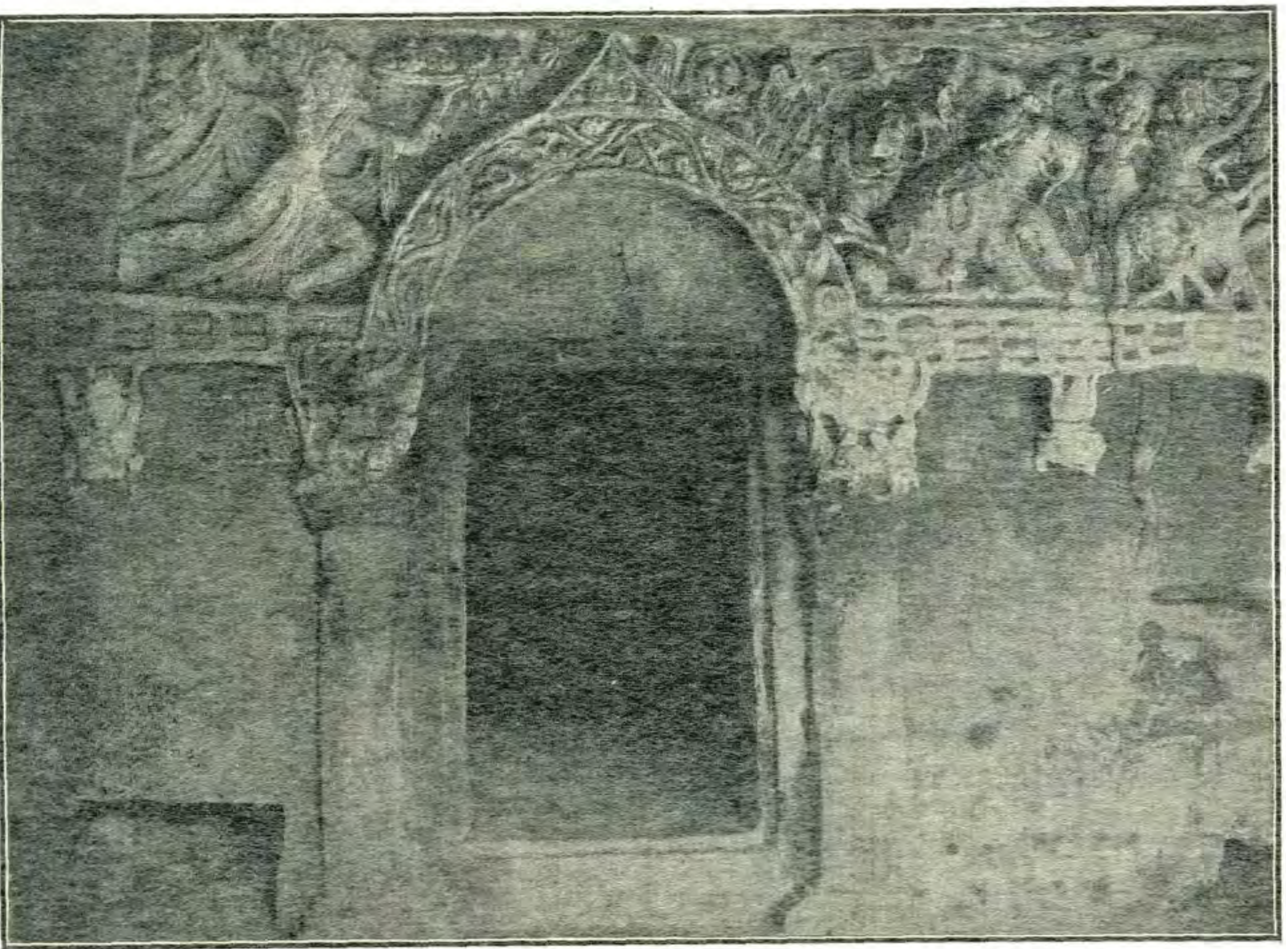
1. *Cowell and Thomas—Harsha-Charita, Eng. Trans, pp. 101-2.*

2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society for Bengal Vol. LXVII, 1898, part I, pp. 105-6.*

3. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol II, 1916, p. 50.*

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's analysis of the historical value of the evidence of the *Mādalā-Pāñji* is distinctly unfair. The Mādalā-Pāñji mentions Yayāti, *i. e.*, Mahāśivagupta as the first king of the dynasty and not Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. The inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta I have not been found to record the grant of any village situated in Orissa proper. Out of five grants of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti only one refers to the grant of a village in Orissa proper, *i. e.*, Dakshiṇa Tosala. Therefore, it is most probable that Yayāti was the first king of the dynasty who succeeded in occupying any portion of Orissa proper. Mr. Mazumdar states that "perhaps as the peaceful administration of the country began with Jajāti (? Yayāti), and not with Janamejaya, the original conqueror or organiser, the name of Jajāti stands at the head of the dynastic list of the Somovaṁśī Rajas of Orissa in the Mādalā-Pañji chronicles, that Jajāti was the son of Janamejaya has, however, been recorded in the Pañji."[1] It must be admitted that according to contemporary inscriptions the *Mādalā Pāñji* is correct, because the inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta I do not prove him to be the master of any part of Orissa proper, while one inscription at least of Mahaśivagupta-Yayāti shows him to be the lord of one portion of Orissa. The only other important point in the inscriptions of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti is the mention of the Chedīs, who are undoubtedly the Chedīs of Ratnapura and not the Chedīs of Ḍāhala, though the learned editor of the Patna plates is inclined to connect Dahaṇa in the last line with Ḍāhala and even Mr. Hira Lal wants to connect Ḍāhaṇa with Ḍāhala.[2]

[1] *Orissa in the Making p. 187.* [2] *Epi. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 200.*



Frieze in the corridor of the upper storey of the Rani Nur Gumpha—(a) from the left, male bearing offerings, females fighting with elephants in lotus pool

Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti was succeeded sometime after the 28th year of his reign by Mahābhavagupta II, surnamed Bhīmaratha. The earliest inscription of this king is to be found on the Katak plates of the year three. This inscription begins with a long metrical portion in which are included two words in prose stating that the order was issued from Yayātinagara. The verses give the names, *i. e.*, *birudas*, of three generations of kings of this dynasty, Janamejaya, his son Yayāti and his son Bhīmaratha. The prose portion gives the usual Imperial titles to Mahābhavagupta II and his father Mahāśivagupta. The charter records the grant of the village of Gauḍa-siminilli in the district of Sakhaṅgadyanha in Kośala to a Brāhmaṇa named *Rāṅaka* Rachchho of the Kauśika *gotra* and the Kauthuma *charana* of the Sāma Veda, an inhabitant of the village of Siṅgoā in the Devī-bhoga district of Kośala, who was an emigrant from the village of Kāśīllī in the *Maṇḍala* of Śrāvastī on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The order was issued on the third day of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha of the year three of the reign of the king. The king is called Bhīmaratha in the closing portion of the inscription. The order was written by a *Kāyastha* named Maṅgaladatta under the superintendence of the the *Sāndhi-vigraha* Siṅgadatta (Siṁhadatta), who wrote the last inscription of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti.[1] The village of Siṅgoā has been identified with Singhar in the Khariar Zamindari in the extreme south of the Raipur district, the district of Devī-bhoga with Deo-bhog in the Bindra-Nawagarh Zamindari in the same district. The only other known inscription of Mahābhavagupta II—Bhīmaratha is to

1 *Ibid., Vol. III. pp. 356-8.*

be found on the Kudopali plate of the 13th year of the reign of the king. The plates were discovered underground in the village of Kudopali in the Bargarh Tahsil of the Sambalpur district and were issued from Yayātinagara. There is no metrical portion in the beginning of this record. It is a charter issued by a feudatory of Mahābhavagupta II, named *Māṇḍalika* and *Rānaka* Puñja, son of Voḍā, of the Māthara family. The donor was in residence at a place named Bāmandapāti when the order was issued. The charter records the gift of the village of Loisarā in the *Mandala* of Gidāṇḍā to a Brāhmaṇa of the Kaundinya *Gotra* and the Kāṇva *Śākhā* named Nārāyaṇa, who was an emigrant from the village of Hastipada in the 13th year of the reign of the king. As the charter was not issued by Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, but by his feudatory Puñja, he is mentioned as being in residence at Yayātinagara while the grant was issued by Puñja from Vāmaṇḍapāṭi. Details about the date such as the month and the day of the fortnight are omitted.[1] Vāmaṇḍapāti has been identified with the State of Bamra, the old capital of which is sixty miles north-east of Binka, Loisarā still exists under the same name in the Bargarh Tahsil of the Sambalpur district, sixteen miles south-west of Sambalpur town. Gidāndā is perhaps the same as Sidāndā which is Sārandā in the Bargarh Tahsil, eleven miles south-west of Sambalpur town.[2]

Our materials for the construction of the history of the Somavaṁśīs of Kośala comes suddenly to an end with the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II. The only other

1 *Ibid., Vol, IV. pp. 258-9.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XI. p. 201.*

record in which Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmratha is mentioned is the Sonpur plates of a certain Kumārādhirāja Someśvara. These plates were discovered in the State of Sonpur in 1908. According to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, who edited the inscription on these plates, the entire shape was tampered with at some unknown date. The writing on the first two plates is on one side but that on the next two plates is on both sides and the inscription is not complete even on the second side of the fourth plate. The first two plates are practically of the same size but the fourth is much smaller. The mention of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha is to be found on the first plate. From this we learn that Uddyota-keśarī-raja-deva was the successor of Mahābhavagupta, who is given full imperial titles and is called the ornament on the forehead of the Lunar race and *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*. Uddyota-keśarī gave the kingdom of Kośala to one Abhimanyu. When the rule of Abhimanyu had come to an end (*Ātīta-rājye*) then Kumārādhirāja became the master of Paśchima-Laṅkā. Someśvara also belonged to the Lunar race and the titles given to him are *Parama-māheśvara-Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-Kumārādhirāja-Parameśvara*. The term Kumārādhirāja is extremely significant and reminds one of the Paramara title "Mahākumāra" borne by Lakshmīvarman, brother of Jayavarman, his son Hariśchandra and the latter's son Udayavarman.[1] The use of the phrase *Ātīta-rājye* shows that the rule of Abhimanyu had come to a violent end in Kośala. We may compare similar terms in the Bodh-Gaya inscriptions of Aśokachalla in connection with Lakshmaṇasena of

[1] *Ibid., Vol. VIII. App. I, p. 15.*

Bengal[1] and Govindapāla of Magadha.[2] Upon the sudden termination of the rule of Abhimanyu in Kośala he was succeeded by Someśvara of the Lunar race. It is therefore certain that sometime after the 13th year of his reign Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha was succeeded by Uddyota-keśarī. Now this Uddyota-keśarī is known from another inscription, now missing, which was discovered at Bhuvaneśvara. The summary compiled by Kielhorn shows that this Uddyota-Keśarī was the son of Chaṇḍīhara and grandson of Abhimanyu, who was the brother's son of Janamejaya, *i. e.*, Mahābhavagupta I. According to this record Mahābhavagupta I was succeeded by his son, Dīrgharavas, and the latter by his son, Apavāra. This statement fits with our knowledge of the Somavaṁśī kings Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, his son Mahāśivagupta Yayāti and the latter's son Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha. The Bhuvaneśvara inscription states that Apavāra died childless and was succeeded by Vichitravīrya, another son of Janamejaya, The latter's son was Abhimanyu. Therefore, this Abhimanyu cannot be the same as that who received the kingdom of Kośala from Uddyota-keśarī, the successor of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha ; but it is absolutely impossible to identify the Uddyota-keśarī of the Bhuvaneśvara inscription with Uddyota-keśarī, the successor of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha, because the former was the grandson of Abhimanyu.[3]

We have, therefore, to admit that there were two

1 *Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 29-30.*

2 *Memoirs A, S. B. Vol. V, p, 110.*

3 *Epi. Ind. Vol, V. App. p. 90, No. 668 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, 1838, p. 558.*

Uddyota-keśarīs, the first being the successor of Mahābhavagupta II and the second the great-grandson of Vichitravīrya, a younger son of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. Uddyota-keśarī I was perhaps the title adopted by Vichitravīrya after his succession to the throne. And he may have appointed his own son Abhimanyu to the government of the Kośala *Rājya*. He was succeeded in the Kośala *Rājya* by Someśvara of the same race, who gave the village of Atteṇḍā in the district of Uttaravallī in Kośala to a brāhmaṇa named Udayakara in the twelfh year of his reign. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar is certainly wrong in identifying this Someśvara with the king of that name mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of Jajalla I.[1] Two other inscriptions of Uddyota-keśarī are known. They are to be found inside the Navamuni and Lalāṭendu caves on Khandagiri hill, three miles from Bhuvaneśvara. Both of these records seem to belong to Uddyota-keśarī I. The first to the year 18 and the second to the year 5 of the same king.[2]

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to state to what condition the Somavaṁśī kings were reduced after the death of Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha. Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri district continued to form a part of their dominions till the 18th year of Uddyota-keśarī I and some sort of authority was exercised by them till the days of Uddyota-keśarī II when the Brahmeśvara temple inscription was inscribed.

Very little is known about the dates of the kings of this dynasty and much has heen left to guess work.

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. XII, pp. 239-42.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XIII. p. 166.*

The only certain points in the chronology of the Somavaṁśis is that they are later than one of the two Śilabhañjas of the first Bhañja dynasty ; and as Satrubhañja I was ruling in V. S., 800-744 A. D., they are also certainly later than Ranabhañja I. As Govinda III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Mahārāshṭra was the contemporary of Chandragupta the fifth in ascent from Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, the accession of that prince cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the 10th century A. D. The certain dates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III vary from 794 to 814 A. D. We have to account for the reigns of Chandragupta's son Harshagupta, grandson Mahāśivagupta II, Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta or Śivagupta the father of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. We have then to account for four distinct generations between the demise of Chandragupta some time in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the rise of Mahābhavagupta, which we can place tentatively about a century later or in the beginning of the 10th century A. D. The accession of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti cannot therefore be placed earlier than the middle of the 10th.

CHAPTER XV

THE EARLY GAṄGAS OF KALIṄGA

The problem of the history and chronology of the early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the era used by them is still far from being solved, and unless a record is discovered in which the Gaṅga era is used simultaneously with another, the value of which is correctly known to us, it will not be possible to override the difficulties which still beset our path. In short, the solution of the problem depends on the discovery of the initial year of this era, in which the majority of the inscriptions of the kings of this dynasty of Kaliṅga are dated. These dates vary from the year 51 on the Chikakol plates of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, to the year 351 on the Chikakol plates of Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman. As in the majority of cases the inscriptions are specially dated in the era of the Gaṇgas, *Gaṅgakula-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsare*, the solution of the problems of Gaṅga history and chronology appears to be distant; and therefore, the best way of tackling them is to take the dates in the order in which they present themselves to us.

The earliest Gaṅga inscription was dealt with by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet in 1874-75 and the last word on the subject was uttered by the late Dr. E. Hultzsch in July 1926. According to this method, the earliest date is no doubt the regnal year six on the Komarti plates of the Mahārāja Chandavarman,[1] but, as the late Dr. Kielhorn has already

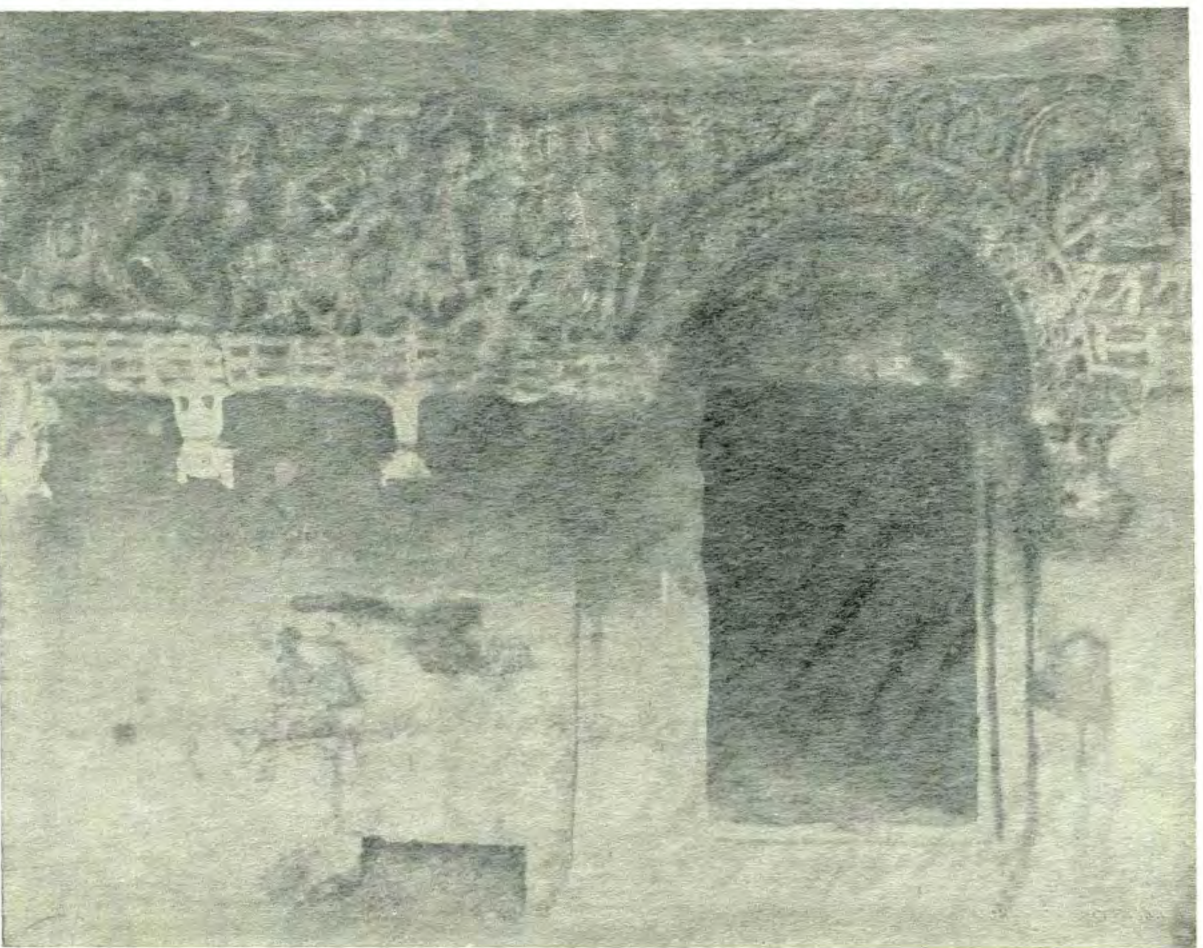
1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 144.*

pointed out, Chandavarman may not be a Gaṅga king at all.[1] Similarly, the regnal year 30 on the Bṛihatproshṭha grant of Umāvarman may or may not be a date in the Gaṅga era, though it is yet doubtful whether this king really belonged to the Gaṅga family or not.[2] Gaṅga history, therefore, really begins with the Chikakol plates of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. This inscription is dated in words, *Gāṅgeya-vaṅśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-samvatsaram-eka-pañchāśat*, leaving no doubt about the fact that it was the intention of the engraver to put down "51" only without any figure for hundreds. The characters of this grant are certainly much later than many of the other Gaṅga plates, which are later than this plate according to the arrangement we follow in this chapter. The order was issued from the city of Kaliṅga and mentions the hereditary deity of the Gaṅga kings, Śiva-Gokarṇeśvara, on the top of Mahendra hill. The only genealogy given is that the donor, king Devendravarman, was the son of Anantavarman. The charter records the grant of the village of Tāmarachheru in the district (*vishaya*) of Varāha-varttani to 300 Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneya (*Charana*). The order was written by the illustrious *Sāmanta* Nāgarāja and incised by the *Ākshaśālī* Sarvadeva.[3] Next in order is the inscription on the Urlam plates of a king named Hastivarman of the year 80. These plates are the private property of the Raja of Urlam in the Chikakol *tāluqa* of the Ganjam district. The charter records the grant of a piece of land

1 *Ibid., Vol. V, App. p. 92. No. 686.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XII. p. 4.*

3 *Ind., Ant., Vol, XIII, pp. 275-76.*



Frieze in the upper storey corridor—Rani Nur Gumpha
(b) Rescue of females by males.

in the village of Hondevaka in the district of Kroshṭuka-varttani as an *agrahāra* to a Brāhmana named Jayaśarman after purchasing the land from the residents of the village on the 8th *tithi* of Kārtika of the year 80. The grant was written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra, and in the verse in which the writer's name is given the king is called Rājasiṁha.[1] In an additional verse at the end of the inscription the king is also called Raṇabhīta. With these indications we must now proceed to consider the grants of Indravarman-Rājasiṁha which follow those of Hastivarman. The plates discovered at Achyutaparam in the Ganjam district were issued in the year 87. By this charter Indravarman, *alias* Rājasiṁha, of the Gaṅga family granted the village of Siddhārthaka in the district of Varāha-varttani to a Brāhmaṇa of the Gautama *gotra* named Durggeśa-śarman on the occasion of the completion of the excavation of a tank by the king's mother on the new moon day of Chaitra of the year 87. In this case also, as in the case of the Urlam plates of Hastivarman, the name of the family is not connected with the date which is expressed simply as *Rājya-samvatsarāḥ* or "regnal years." This grant was also written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra and the king's *biruda*, Rājasiṁha, given in the same verse.[2] The Parlakimedi plates of the year 91 also belong to the same king. They were also issued from the city of Kaliṅga. By this charter Indravarman grants the *agrahāra* in the village of Kettaṭa in the Devanna *pañchālī* to a Brāhmaṇa of the city and of the Gārgya *gotra* named Dhruvaśarman on the 30th day of Māgha of

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 332-33.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 128-29.*

the year 91. This grant also was written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra, and the *biruda* Rājasiṁha occurs in this verse.[1] Authorities differ as to the identity of king Indravarman mentioned in the next two grants, because they are about 30 years removed from the Achuyutapuram plates of the year 91. The Chikakol plates of the year 120 was issued by king Indravarman of the Gaṅga family from the city of Kaliṅga. By this charter the king granted the village of Tāmara-cheruvu in the district of Varāha-varttanī on the full day of the month of Mārgaśira on the occasion of a Lunar eclipse to a number of Brāhmanas of different *gotraś* and *charanas*. The order was issued on the 15th day of Chaitra of the year 128 and the grant was drafted by Śaṅkaradeva, son of the *Āmātya* Devachandra. It was written by Āditya, son of Vinayachandra. The name of the writer proves that the donor was a generation removed from the donor of the Chikakol plates, as in the year 128 Vinayachandra, who had written the grants of the years 87 and 91, had been succeeded by his son Āditya.[2] The next grant of the same king is still later in date. It was also discovered in Chikakol and issued from the city of Kaliṅga. The charter records the grant of the village of Pālamūla in the district of Korosataka *Pañchālī* to two brāhmaṇas named Skandaśarman and Lalitaśarman of the Kautsa *gotra* on the 7th *tithi* of the month of Māgha and the order was issued three days later, *i. e.*, on the 10th Māgha of the year 146. The order was recorded by the *Mahāmahattara* Gaurīśarman, but the name of the scribe is Bhavadatta.[3] In the last

1 *Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 120-21.*

2 *Ibid., p. 123.*

3 *Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 134.*

two plates the *biruda*, *Rājasiṁha*, of the king, Indravarman, is omitted, an additional proof, according to certain writers, of the want of identity between Indravarman Rājasiṁha of the year 91 and of the later grants. The third item in the series of proofs is the Purle plates of Indravarman of the year 149. These plates were issued from Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga, where the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of Buddha was brought by one of his disciples and a large *stūpa* built over it. This *stūpa* was destroyed by Brāhmaṇas and the tooth relic taken away to Ceylon. The most important fact mentioned in this inscription is that Indravarman's father was Dānārnava, from which scholars infer that Indravarman Rājasiṁaha was Indravarman I and his son was Dānārnava. Indravarman of the grants of the years 128 and 146 was Indravarman II, the grandson of Indravarman I. The plates of the year 149 were discovered in the village of Purle near Pālakonda in the Ganjam district. By this charter king Indravarman II records the grant of the village of Bhukkuku in the Kuraka-rāshṭra to a brāhmana of the Tiriliṅga and of the Kauśika *gotra* named Bhavadatta-śarman, on the full moon day of Kārtikeya. The charter was issued on the 30th day of Pushyā of the year 149. The order was written by Khanḍichandra, the son of the *Bhogika* Āditya.[1] Five years later we find another king in Kaliṅga. He is apparently a son of Indravarman II who was named Dānārnava II after his grandfather. These plates, issued in the year 154, are in the possession of the *Yuvarāja* of Tekkali in the Ganjam district. They were engraved by the same Khaṇḍichandra, son of the *Bhogika* Āditya. They

1 *Epi. Ind., XIV, pp. 361-62.*

were issued from the city of Kaliṅga and the charter records the grant of one plough of land in the village of Tuganna in the district of Rupyavati to a Brāhmaṇa named Skandaśarman on the occassion of a Solar eclipse for the merit of a queen named Ambā-achchi-poti. The grant was composed by the *Sarvādhikṛta* Śāmbapuropādhyāya, who is mentioned in the previous grant.[1]

There is a long gap after the Tekkali plates of the year 154 and the next inscription in chronological order is the Chikakol plates of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava of the year 183. It is quite evident that Guṇārṇava and his son Devendravarman are descendants or colaterals of Indravarman II and Dānārṇava II ; but no connection can be proved between them. The grant mentions the shrine of the Lord Gokarṇasvāmin on Mahendra mountain and the Gaṅga family, but in the genealogical portion the king, *Māhārāja* Devendravarman, is mentioned simply as the son of Guṇārṇava. By this charter the king grants the village of Poppāṅgikā in the Kroshṭuka-varttani on the occasion of the Uttarāyana in the month of Māgha to some Brāhmaṇas of the city of Kaliṅga of Kṛishṇātreya *gotra*, who were brothers. The order was issued on the 20th day of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the year 183. The charter was incised by Śarvvachandra, son of the *bhogika* Khaṇḍichandra, who was the scribe of the grant of the year 154.[2] The next record was issued only a year later, in 184. It does not seem to have been published as yet, though it was noticed as early as 1921. They were sent

1 *Ibid., Vol. XVIII. pp. 309-10.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 131-33.*

to Mr. G. Venkoba Rao by the Diwan of the Raja of Parlakimidi. The record is dated in the 184th year and was issued by *Mahārāja* Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava. The names of the officers and engravers are the same in these plates also.[1] The same king issued another grant eleven years later. These plates were discovered at Siddhāntam near Chikakol in the Ganjam district. The charter records the grant of a plot of land, one plough in measure, in the village of Siddhārthaka in the district of Varāha-varttanī to a Brāhmaṇa named Tampara-śarman *Dīkshita*, an inhabitant of Erandapali (the Erandapalla of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta) on the occasion of the *Dakshiṇāyana*. The order was issued on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the year 195. The inscription was composed by Madanāṅkura Pallava, son of Mātṛichandra.[2] Anantavarman, the son of Devendravarman, who issued the grant next in order must be in the next generation. In the Parlakimidi plates of the year 204, the donor Anantavarman is called the son of Devendravarman and was evidently the grandson of Guṇārṇava. The plates were noticed for the first time in the Assistant Archæological Superintendent's Annual Report for 1919-20. The charter records the grant of a village named Talaṭṭhere in the district of Kroshṭuka-varttanī by Anantavarman at the request of his brother Jayavarman to a Brāhmaṇa of the Parāśara *gotra*, who was

1 *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy for the year 1919-20. p. 93, para 21.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 213-5.*

an inhabitant in the village of Śraṅgaṭikā in the district of Kāmarūpa or Assam named Vishṇusomāchārya.[1]

The next fifty years are a complete blank so far as Gaṅga grants and inscriptions are concerned. The chiefs of Tekkali possess another set of plates issued by Devendravarman III, son of Rājendravarman, in the Gaṅga year 254. They were also issued from the city of Kaliṅga and were discovered in the Vizagapatam district. By this charter Devendravarman, son of *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, granted the village of Ṭāḍuvamāsiṇapuḍilāsoligamuḍuḍā in the district of Dāvadāmadava, according to the advice of the king's maternal uncle to the lord Dharmeśvara on the *pratipada* of the first half of Phālguna of the year 254. The charter was written by Ugradeva, son of the priest (purohita) Durgadeva, and incised by the illustrious *Sāmanta* Khaṇḍi, when the holy Brāhmaṇa Somāchārya was the Superintendent of the temple of Dharmeśvara.[2] Another fifty years later we find another king of the name of Anantavarman ruling over Kaliṅga. His plates of the year 304 were discovered at Alamanda in the Vizagapatam district. As usual, they were issued from the city of Kaliṅga, and mention was made of the god Gokarṇeśvara and the spotless Gaṅga family. The donor Anantavarman III was the son of Rājendravarman. By this charter the king granted the village of Medelāka in the district of Tirikaṭu to a Brāhmaṇa of the Kauśika *gotra* named Śrīdharabhaṭa on the occasion of a Solar eclipse. The date is expressed in full beginning with the name of the Gaṅga

[1] *Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII, pp. 144-5.*

[2] *Annual Report of Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1919-20. p. 93.*

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family in words and the year as 304 but without further details as to month or date.[1] Next in order come the fragmentary Tekkali plates of Devendravarman III, son of Rājendravarman. They were issued from the city of Kaliṅga and supply the usual details about the Gaṅga family. The charter records the grant of the village of Niyino in the district of Rupavarttanī to a Brāhmaṇa, whose name cannot be read. This Rājendravarman, therefore, must be Rājendra III and his father Devendravarman III.[2]

Thirty-two years later we find another Rajendravarman, Rajendravarman IV, son of another Anantavarman, Anantavarman IV in possession of Kaliṅga. The plates were issued from the city of Kaliṅga in the year 342 but further details are not available.[3] The latest known date of the early Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga is to be found in the Chikakol plates of Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman. In this case this Devendravarman must be the fourth king of that name. By this charter the king granted the village of Tārugrāma in the district of Galela to a god. A *Gurava* or a Śūdra priest of a Śaiva shrine, is mentioned in this connection. The date is given in words but details are omitted.[4]

A number of kings whose names end with the affix *varman* may be connected with the Gaṅga dynasty, but their records are not dated and they cannot be located definitely. One of these is a Indravarman who issued a grant from Śvetakādhishṭhāna and is probably the same

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 18-20.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 312-13.*

3 *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for the year 1917-18, pp. 137-8.*

4 *Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 11-12.*

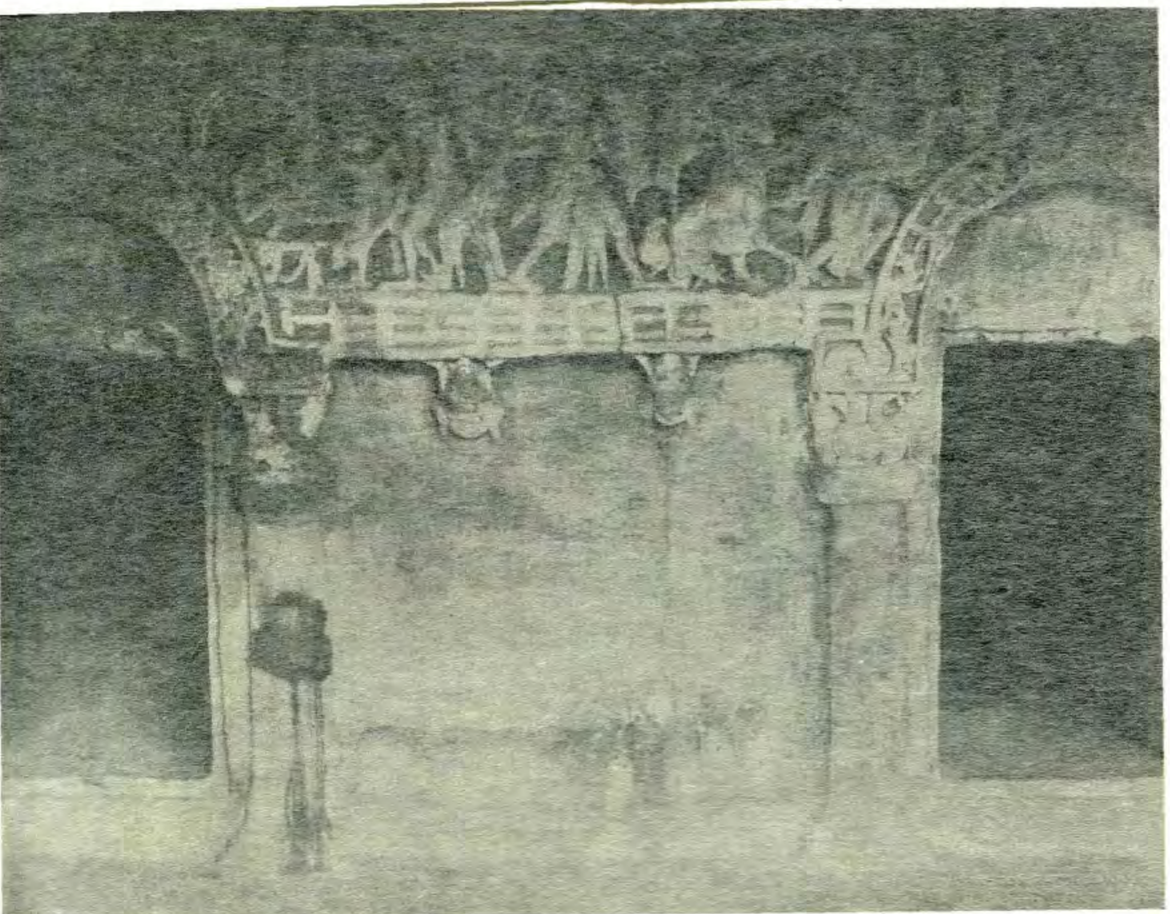
as Indravarman I. The grant is not dated and the name of the village granted is not given in the short note.[1] The second is that of a king named Sāmantavarman who gave the village of Vaṭagrāma in the district of Himanīgosa to a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* named Govinda-śarman by an undated grant.[2] The inscription of Chanda-varman already quoted above is very probably a Śālaṅkāyana record. It was issued in the year six of the king's reign, who is called the lord of Kaliṅga. The charter records the grant of the village Kohetura to a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra of the year six.[3] A king named Pṛithivīvarman, the son of Mahendravarman, calls himself a king of Kaliṅga of the Gaṅga family in a set of plates discovered in the Ganjam district. By this charter, which is undated and issued from Śvetka, the king grants the village (illegible) in the district of Jānorā to a Brāhmaṇa of the Vātsa *gotra* on the occasion of Vishuva saṅkrānti. Pṛithivīvarman is mentioned as the lord of a city named Kolāhalā, which Mr. L. Rice takes to be Kolar in the Mysore State, but, as the inscription mentions the god Gokarṇeś-vara on Mahendra hill, the king must be an eastern Gaṅga king.[4] King Śaktivarman mentioned in the Ragolu plates of the Ganjam district calls himself "Lord of Kaliṅga." The charter was issued from Pishṭapura, *i. e.*, modern Piṭṭapuram, but the grant is not dated and no details are known about the family of the king except that he calls himself a

1 *Annual Report of the Asst. Archæological Supdt., Southern Circle, for the year 1917-18.; p. 140.*

2 *Ibid., 1916-17, p. 9, no. 12.*

3 *Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 144.*

4 *Ibid., pp. 199-201.*



Frieze in the upper storey corridor—Rani Nur Gumpha

(c) Rescuer before house and abduction of female after fight between a male and a female

Māgadha.[1] Similarly king Umāvarman calls himself Lord of Kaliṅga in the plates discovered in the Pālakonda *taluqa*. The charter records the grant of the village of Bṛihatproshṭha to a Brāhmaṇa named Haridatta on the 20th day of the month of Mārgaśirsha of the year 30, evidently of the king's reign. The order was issued from Siṁhapura.[2]

Many different dynasties of Gaṅgas appears to have been ruling over Kaliṅga and all of them claimed to be in possession of the city of Kaliṅga. The Parlakimedi plates of the time of a certain Vajrahasta prove that a king of this name, whose father's name is not mentioned, also claimed to be ruling over the city of Kaliṅga. He is styled Mahārājādhirāja, the ornament of the spotless Gaṅga race and the master of the five districts. The date is also omitted. The inscription begins by stating that it was issued from Kaliṅganagara by the devout worshipper of Śiva, Gokarneśvara on the top of Mahendra hill. The charter records the grant of the village of Hossaṇḍi to Kāmadi, son of Eṛayamarāja of the Naggari-Saluki family. The actual grant was made by a chief named Dāraparāja, son of the Choḷa Kāmadi, to his son-in-law, whose name was also Kāmaḍi.[3] The bearer of the order was a Kāyastha named Bachchhapayya, who was a minister of Dāraparāja and it was written by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahin* Droṇachārya. The late Dr. Kielhorn identified this Vajrahasta with Vajrahasta, the grandfather of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, but the writing on the Parlakimedi plates is totally different from that on the Nadagam plates or the Narasapatan plates. This Vajrahasta must be one of the earlier princes

1 *Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 2-3*
2 *Ibid., p. 5.*
3 *Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 220-224.*

of the same name, at least five of whom are mentioned in the ancestry of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga or Orissa. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of Śaka 1040 contain the longest genealogy.[1] According to this inscription Kolāhala was the founder of a city after his own name, Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi (in Mysore), then after eighty-one kings of that city was born Virasiṁha who had five sons named Kāmārṇava I, Dānārṇava I, Guṇārṇava I, Nārasiṁha and Vajrahasta I, Kāmārṇava I captured Kaliṅga after defeating a king named Bālāditya and ruled at Jantavura (*i. e.*, Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga) for thirty-six years. He was followed by his younger brother Dānārṇava I, who ruled for forty years. He was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava II, who ruled at Kaliṅganagara for half a century. He was succeeded by his son Raṇārṇava, who ruled for five years. and his grandson Vajrahasta II was succeeded by his younger brother Kāmārṇava III, who ruled for nineteen years and was succeeded by his son Guṇārṇava II, who ruled for twenty-seven years. This Guṇārṇava may possibly be identical with Devendravarman's father. Devendravarman I was ruling from the Gaṅga year 183 to 195. Guṇārṇava II was succeeded by his son Jitāṅkuśa, who ruled for fifteen years. He appears to have been quite different from Devendravārman I, son of Guṇārṇava, who also ruled over Kaliṅga. Jitāṅkuśa was succeeded by his nephew Kaligalāṅkuśa, who ruled for twelve years and was succeeded by his father's father Guṇḍama I, who ruled for seven years. He was evidently a son of Guṇārṇava II and a brother of Gitāṅkuśa. Guṇḍama was succeeded by his younger

[1] *Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 165-72.*

brother Kāmārṇava IV, who ruled for twenty-five years, and he by his younger brother Vinayāditya, who ruled for three years. Guṇārṇava II was thus succeeded by four of his sons and one grandson. The succession was thus carried on further by another grandson of Guṇārṇava II, Vajrahasta IV, a son of Kāmārṇava IV, who ruled for thirty-five years. He was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava V, who ruled for six months only. Guṇḍama II, his younger brother, succeeded him and ruled for three years. He was succeeded by his step-brother Madhu-Kāmārṇava VI, who ruled for nineteen years. His son and successor, Vajrahasta V, was the first to assume the title of *Tri-Kaliṇg-ādhipati*, and ruled for thirty years. His son Rājarāja I, who married the Chola princess Rājasundarī, a daughter of Rājendra Choḷa II of Veṅgi, *i. e.*, Kulottuṅga I of Tanjore. Rājarāja I ruled for eight years and was succeeded by his son, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. A slightly different chronology is provided in the Nadagam plates, of Vajrāhasṭa of the Śaka year 979. In the lineage of the Gaṅgas of Tri-Kaliṅga was the Mahārāja Guṇamahārṇava. His son Vajrahasta reigned for forty-four years. Vajrahasta's son, Gundama I, reigned for three years, whose younger brother, Kāmārṇava, ruled for thirty-five years. Kāmārṇava was succeeded by his younger brother, Vinayāditya, who ruled for three years. Kāmārṇava's son, Vajrahasta-Aniyaṅkabhīma, ruled for thirty-five years and was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava, who ruled for six months only. His younger brother, Guṇḍama II, ruled for three years and was succeeded by his step-brother Madhu-Kāmārṇava, who ruled for nineteen years. According to this inscription,

Vajrahasta, the grandfather of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, was the son of Kāmārṇava, the eldest son of Vajrahasṭa Aniyaṅkabhīma. [1] This list gives a total of 142½ years from the date of the accession of Vajrahasta and therefore of the death of Guṇamahārṇava. If we take this king to be the same as Guṇārṇava, father of Devendravarman I, who began to rule some time before 183 of the Gaṅga year and if we take the year 180 of the same era as the year of accession of Devendravarman I, then we find that Vajrahasta, the grandfather of Anantavarman, came to the throne in the Gaṅga year 323. But as the known date of his accession is 1038 A. D.=960 Śaka, it becomes fairly certain that the Gaṅga era began in the first or second decade of the 8th century A. D. The date given in the Vizagapatam plates can also be employed to test this result. According to it, from Kāmārṇava I up to the end of the reign of Rājarāja I, the Eastern Gaṅgas of that particular branch from which Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was descended, ruled for 349 years. The total length of reigns from the beginning of the rule of Kāmārnava I up to the end of that of Gunārṇava II is 192 years leaving 157 years up to 1078 A. D., the year of the accession of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. This would bring the death of Gunārṇava to 921 A. D., as only 157 years intervene between him and the accession of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. If this Gunārṇava is the father of Devendravarman I, then he died approximately in the Gaṅga year 180. The initial year of the Gaṅga era, therefore, would fall in 741 A. D. This difference of 20 years can be neglected for the present when centuries are at stake in the calculation of the Gaṅga

1 *Ibid., Vol IV, pp. 183-93.*

era. The most recent contribution to the subject is an elaborate article by Mr. G. Ramadas, B. A. It is based on a series of elaborate astronomical calculations and a number of assumptions. In the first place, the eclipses recorded have been sought between 624 and 961 A. D., wherein Mr. Ramadas has sought to place the 127th 251st. 304th, 351st and 91st years of the Gaṅga era. In the next place the writer makes certain untenable assumptions, *e. g.*, "The Kaliṅga ruled over by the Gaṅgas was quite different from the Kaliṅga of Asokan times. The Kaliṅga of the Gaṅgas being connected with the Mountain Mahendra was quite different from that subdued by the Great Mauryan Emperor, which was not mentioned to have included the mountain." [1] The next wrong assumption is based on paleography :

"I have compared, letter to letter :

(1) The Chicacole plates of Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava, dated in 183rd year with the Gaṇeśaghaḍ plates of Dhruvasena I of Samvat 207 (Gupta era).

(2) The Siddhanta plates of Devendravarma, son of Guṇārṇava, dated in 195th year with the Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa (Kalachuri) Samvat 347.

(3) The Purle plates of Indravarma, son of Daṇārṇava dated in 195th year with the Podaguḍa inscription of the son of king Bhavadatta, the characters of which are said to very closely resemble those of the Mandasor inscription of the Gupta King Kumāragupta of the Mālava year 493 (A. D. 437-38).[2]

On these assumptions Mr. Ramadas calculates that the

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IX, 1923, p. 404.*

2 *Ibid., p. 406.*

Gaṅga era was reckoned from the Śaka year 271 or 349-50 A. D. According to him, the Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman I issued in Chaitra G.S., 87 are dated 3rd March 436 A. D., and the Parlakimedi plates of Indravarman I issued in Māgha G.S., 91 are dated 23rd January 441. Now, there is no difference of opinion of the date of the Ganjam plates of the time Śaśāṅka of G.E. 300 issued by Mādhavarāja II of the Śailodbhava family. None of the Gaṅga plates mentioned above are earlier in date than this grant which was issued in 619 A. D., and, therefore, the initial year of the Gaṅga era cannot lie in 349-50 A.D.[1]

1 *Ibid., pp. 398-415*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EASTERN GAṄGAS. VAJRAHASTA TO ANAṄGABHĪMA I.

The confusion in the history and chronology of Orissa vanishes completely from the beginning of the 11th century A.D. when Vajrahasta of Kaliṅganagara assumed the title of *Tri-Kaliṅg-Ādhipati* and ascended the throne in Śaka 960=Sunday 9th April 1038 A.D. The assumption of the new title by a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga proves that he acquired some sort of authority over the whole of ancient Kaliṅga, comprising its three ancient divisions: Utkala, Koṅgoda and Kaliṅga. Utkala or Orissa had not been thoroughly conquered as yet and no inscription of this king has been discovered in modern Orissa. His earliest inscription is to be found on the Narasapatan plates of Śaka 967-1045 A.D. The plates were discovered in the Narasapatan *taluqa* of the Vizagapatam district. The grant was issued from Dantipura by Vajrahasta of the Gaṅga family, the son of Mahārāja Kāmārṇava. Instead of beginning from Kāmārṇava I, as in the Vizagapatam plates of his grandson Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, it begins here with Vajrahasta I. Vajrahasta is really the 5th king of that name in the dynasty founded by Kāmārṇava I, the son of Vīrasiṁha, though he is styled Vajrahasta III by Prof. Sten Konow according to the genealogy given here. This Vajrahasta V will be styled Vajrahasta in this book, as no other king of this name ruled over Orissa after him. He was the son of Kāmārṇava by Vinaya *Mahādevī* of the Vaidumba family of the Andhra country. He

is styled *Parama-Māheśvara, Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* in addition to the title of *Tri-Kaliṅg-ādhipati.* The charter records the grant of the village of Tampavā along with thirty-five others in the district (*vishaya)* of Gorasaṭṭa to Mānāditya-Choṭṭa and Vīra-Bhūrisrava of the Vaidumba family of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, who had emigrated from Peṭṭakallu, on Monday the 9th of the month of Mīna (*Chaitra*) of the Śaka year 967. The grant contains the boundaries of the district of Gorasaṭṭā. To the east was Vistīrṇaśilā, to the south-east Vināyaka-vaṭa, to the south the grant of Taṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā, to the south-west the hill of Andhāra-veṇī, to the west Kāñchaśalā on the bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā, to the north-west Āmrāpāthara and to the North Madhupa-pali, to the north-west Tālañ-jara-śilā. The charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahīn*, the *Kāyastha* Dhavala and the grant was incised by Meṇṭo-juna.[1] None of the localities mentioned in the charter can be identified except the river Vaṁsadharā.

Another grant was issued by the same king in the Śaka year 976-1054 A. D., in which he is called Anantavarman, a name assumed by many of his successors in addition to their real names. The plates on which this charter is to be found belong to the Raja Sahib of Mandasa in the Ganjam district. The actual donor was a feudatory chief, named Dharmakhedi, son of Bhāmakhedi of the Kādamba family, who was governing the district of Pañchapātra. The Kādambas were officers of the Eastern Gaṅgas and an Ugrakhedi is mentioned in the Parlakimedi plates of

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol XI, pp. 147-53.*



Frieze in the corridor of the upper storey of the Rani Nur Gumpha—
(d) Royal hunting Scene, King shooting winged deer, and meeting nymph seated on a tree

Vajrahasta.[1] Another Dharmakhedi is also mentioned in the Tekkali plates of Devendravarman II, son of Rajendravarman of the Gaṅga year 254. If the initial year of the Gaṅga era is taken to be 715 A. D. then the grant of G. S., 254 was issued in 969 A.D. *i.e.*, three generations earlier than Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava. This Dharmakhedi, therefore, appears to be an ancestor of Dharmakhedi of 1054 A.D. The order was brought by the *Rāṇaka* Vettikuratha. A *Sāmanta* named Nala-Cheṇḍāla is mentioned towards the end of the inscription and the learned South Indian Epigraphist proposes to identify him with a Chandella chieftain.[2] The third inscription of Vajrahasta was discovered in Nadagam, a village in the Narasanna-peṭa *taluqa* of the Ganjam district. This inscription contains two very important dates. The charter itself was issued in Śaka 979, Sunday the 12th of the bright half of Phālguna-4th March 1058 A.D., but the inscription mentions that Vajrahasta ascended the throne in Śaka 960 when the Sun was in Vṛsha, the Moon in the Rohinī *Nakshatra*, in the *Dhanur-lagna*, Sunday the 3rd of the bright half of the month (Jyaishṭha), Sunday 3rd May 1038 A.D. This grant was issued from the ancient capital, Kaliṅganagara and opens with the mention of Śiva Gokarṇasvāmin on Mahendra mountain. The genealogy of Vajrahasta is traced from Guṇamahārṇava. The only important historical information to be derived from it is that Vajrahasta I, the father of Guṇḍama I, united the kingdom of Kaliṅga by conquering the five different parts into which

1 *Ibid., Vol. III, p.. 222.*

2 *Annual Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for 1918, pp. 13, 138-39.*

it had been divided. The charter records the grant of an extensive tract of land containing twelve villages, "which were separated from the district of Erada and constituted into a separate district, which was named the Velāpūra *vishaya* after its chief village Velāpura."[1] The latest known date of Vajrahasta is to be found in the Madras Museum plates of Śaka 984-1061. A. D. by which the king granted the village of Tāmaracheru with the hamlet of Chikhali in Varāhavartanī to five hundred Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The village of Tāmaracheru was previously granted to Brāhmaṇas by the early Gaṅga kings Devendravarman and Indravarman.[2] According to the late Professor Kielhorn the eclipse took place on the 20th June 1061.[3] Kaliṅganagara has been identified by some with Mukhalingam, and Nagara-kaṭakam, and by others with Kaliṅgapatanam.

The origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas, specially of the branch to which Vajrahasta belonged, is given in Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga's grant of the Śaka year 1040-1118 A. D. Kāmārṇava I, the second son of Vajrahasta I, gave over his own territory in Gaṅgavāḍi to his father's brother and set out to conquer the world with his brothers. He came to Mahendragiri and after having worshipped Gokarṇasvāmin obtained the crest of a bull and then defeated Bālāditya, who had grown sick of war, and conquered the Kaliṅga countries. According to the genealogies given in the inscriptions of the later kings

1 *Ibid., Vol, IV, pp. 183-93.*

2 *Ant. Vol. XIII, 1884, pp. 273 ; Ibid., pp. 119.*

3 *Epi. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 94-98.*

Vajrahasta reigned for 30 or 33 years. As his coronation took place in 1038 A. D., he must have ruled till 1068 or 1071 A. D. It is more probable that he ruled for 30 years only.

He was succeeded by his son Rājarāja I, whom we know to have been reigning in 1075 A. D. An inscription discovered in the small village of Dirghāsi, four miles to the north of Kaliṅga-patam in the Ganjam district, records the erection of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple of Durgā at Dīrgharāśi or Dirghāsi in the Śaka year 997-1075 A. D., by a Brāhmaṇa chieftain named Gaṇapati in the service of king Rājarāja of the Gaṅga dynasty. According to this inscription, Gaṇapati was a *Pratihārin*, hereditary in the family, and he defeated the army of the Choḷa king, often defeated the king of Veṅgī and destroyed the troops of the king of Utkala.[1] These references can be better understood by a reference to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Śaka year 1040. In this inscription Rājarāja is said to have gained a great victory over the Choḷa king and then married his daughter Rājasundarī. The Choḷas are called Dramiḷas in this record. This Choḷa invasion is no doubt that of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I, one of whose Tamil inscriptions has been discovered in the temple of Nṛisiṁha-svāmin at Siṁhāchalam near Waltair in the Vizagapatam district. This inscription is dated Śaka 1021-1099 A. D., It mentions a minister (*Sāṁdhi-vigrahin)* named Madurāṁtaka-Brāhmamaṛayar.[2] As both parties claim the victory, the result of the

1 *Ibid., pp. 314-18.*

2 *Annual Progress Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy for the year ending with 30th June, 1900, Madras, p, 10.*

Northern campaign of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I must be taken to be indecisive. Another factor in this war was the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya of Veṅgī, who according to the Vizagapatam plates had grown old and was about to lose his kingdom to the Choḷas. This is no doubt the Eastern Chālukya king, Vijayāditya VII, the younger brother of the Mahārājādhirāja Rājarāja Vishṇuvardhana of Veṅgī, who ascended the throne in 1022 A. D., and was married to Ammaṅgadevī, a daughter of the great Rājendra Choḷa I of Tanjore. This king, Rājarāja Vishṇuvardhana, ruled for 40 or 41 years, say upto 1063 A. D., and, therefore, his younger brother, Vijayāditya VII, who ruled at Veṅgī for 15 years becomes the contemporary of his nephew Kulottuṅga Choḷa I of Tanjore and Rājarāja, son of Vajrahasta III, of Kaliṅga. The Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 state that having rescued Vijayāditya VII from the Choḷa peril Rājarāja replaced him in the Western region. Rājarāja's marriage with the Choḷa princess Rājasundarī has caused some difference of opinion among scholars. The late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti was of the opinion that "this Coḷa king was Vīra Rājendra Deva I, surnamed Parakeśarivarman (A. D., 1052—70); and thus Coṛagaṅga became related to the great Coḷa king Kulottuṅga Coḷa I, as his sister's son."[1] This is clearly inadmissible, as the Vizagapatam plates of the Śaka year 1057 state clearly that Rājasundarī, the chief queen of Rājarāja, was the daughter of Rājendra Choḷa. The late Prof. Kielhorn, therefore, identificd this Rājendra Choḷa with Rājendra Choḷa II, *alias* Kulottuṅga Choḷa I.[2] Moreover,

1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 108.*

2 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 17, Note 2.*

Kulottuṅga Choḷa I was not a son of Rājendradeva Parakeśarivarman, but of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja from Ammaṅgadevī, the daughter of Rājendra Choḷa I. He married Madhurāntakī, a daughter of Rājendradeva.[1] This Kulottuṅga Choḷa I ruled at Veṅgī before his accession as Choḷa king at Tanjore.[2] The real object of his attack on his nephew, Vijayāditya VII of Veṅgī, was to add his ancestral possessions to the Choḷa empire. He married his daughter Rājasundarī to the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja after being defeated by the latter.

Rājarāja I was succeeded by his son Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, born of the Choḷa princes Rājasundarī. Many inscriptions of this king have been discovered. The date of his accession, the Śaka year 998-1078 A. D., has been verified from many different inscriptions. He enjoyed a very long reign of 72 years according to his own inscription, but those of the successors assign 70 years to him. The king is very well-known from three dated land-grants originally discovered in the Vizagapatam district and now preserved in the Central Government Museum at Madras. The earliest of them is dated Śaka 1003= Sunday, 4th April 1081 A.D. The date of the accession of the king is also given in this inscription : Śaka 999 expired, Saturday 17th February=1078 A. D. The grant was issued from the ancient Gaṅga capital of Kaliṅganagara. The inscription records the gift of the village of Chakīvaḍa in the Samvā *vishaya* to the god Rājarājeśvara

1 *Ibid., App. II, p. 23; No. 17.*

2 *Ibid., p. 18, No. 30*

in the village of Reṅgujedā.[1] This inscription does not give any information of historical interest except that the king used the title of *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati*. The second grant gives the complete genealogy of the Gaṅgas from the moon to Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. The historical information supplied by this inscription is very important. According to it one of the ancestors of the king built the city of Kolāhalapura in the district or *vishaya* of Gaṅgavāḍī. It also records the migration of Kāmārṇava I from Gaṅgavāḍī or Mysore to Kaliṅga, his worship of the god Gokarṇeśvara on Mahendra-giri and the defeat of a king named Bālāditya, which resulted in the conquest of the Kaliṅga country. As regards Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, it states that he "first replaced the fallen lord of Utkala in his kingdom in the Eastern region and then the waning lord of Veṅgī in the Western region and propped up their failing fortunes." The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1040=1118 A. D., in favour of a personal attendant named Mādhava. The name of the village granted was Tāmarakhaṇḍi of the Samvā *vishaya*. The last line of the inscription contains the information that the king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga considered himself to be "decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala." This grant was issued from a town called Sindurapora and not from Kaliṅganagara.[2] The third grant belongs to the Trustees of the temple of Saṅgam in the Vizagapatam district. It was issued in the Śaka year 1057=1135 A. D., from the ancient Gaṅga capital of Kaliṅganagara. The object of this inscription is to record the grant of the village of

1 *Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII., pp. 161-65.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 165-72.*

Sumudā with its hamlet in the Sammāga district in the Kaliṅga country to a person named Choḍagaṅga, son of one Permāḍirāja, who is called a trusted agent.[1] The date of the accession of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga is given but the very interesting historical references to be found in the grant of the Śaka year 1040 are omitted.

Besides these three land grants, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga is known from a number of small stone inscriptions of which more than one hundred have been discovered in the temples at Mukhaliṅgam and several at Śrī-Kurmam. It is interesting to note that no inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered in the Puri, Cuttack and the Balasore districts of Northern Orissa. This perhaps proves that some local king was still ruling over Northern Orissa who had been reinstated by Anantavarman, as stated in his inscriptions. According to the inscriptions of his successors Anantavarman destroyed the fortified town of Āramya or Ānamya and then defeated the king of Mandāra. This Mandāra is called in the *Rāmacharita* Apara-Mandāra[2] to distinguish it from Mandāra in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar. It is called Madāran in the Ain-i-Akbari[3] and Mandāran in Bankim Chandra's celebrated novel *Durgeś-nandinī*. The place is now called Bhitargarh and lies eight miles to the west of Ārāmbāgh in the Hooghly district of Bengal. The king of Mandāra is said to have been defeated on the banks of the Ganges, though that river now flows more than fifty miles from Bhitargarh. The

1 *Ibid., pp. 172-76.*

2 *Rāmacharita, II. 5.; Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 36.*

3 *Blochmann & Jarett's Eng. Trans., Vol. II., v. 141.*

empire of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga now extended from the mouth of the Ganges in the north to the mouth of the Godāvarī in the south. The western boundary of this vast kingdom was not properly defined. His immediate neighbours on the west were the Kaḷachuris or Haihayas of Ratnapura. Anantavarman's relations with the Chedis were not amicable. In the Malhar inscriptions of Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva I is said to have defeated king Choḍagaṅga[1] and this information is repeated in the Ratnapura inscription of Pṛithvīdeva.[2] According to a work of very doubtful antecedents, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasād Śāstrī, M.A., PH. D., C.I.E., the *Vallāla-charitam* by Ananda Bhaṭṭa, Vijayasena of Bengal was the friend of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga.

The greatest monument of this king which has survived up to our times is the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. According to Mr. Monmohan Chakravartī, the great temple, *i. e.*, the *Vimāna* or sanctum and the *Jagamohana* or the first *maṇḍapa* were erected by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga towards the close of the 11th century A. D.[3] There is no doubt about the fact that the *Nāṭyaśālā* now called the *Nāṭ-mandir*, and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* were erected at a much later date. The long range of votive inscriptions and pilgrim's records at Mukhaliṅgam testify to the prosperity of the metropolitan district of the kingdom of Choḍagaṅga during his reign. *Bhāsvatī*, a work on astronomy, was composed in the

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 40-43.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 47-49.*

3 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; old series, Vol. LXVII, 1898, pp. 328-31.*

Śaka year 1021=1099 A. D., by one Śatānanda, son of Śaṅkara, an inhabitant of Puri. Traces of Choḍagaṅga's name may still be found in "Churaṅgasāhī, a quarter in Puri town ; in Churaṅga-pokhri, a tank about six miles S. W., of Cuttack town ; in Sāraṅga-garh, a fort, the remains of which are still visible on the Madras Trunk Road close to Barang Railway Station ; and in the temple of Gaṅgeśvara, town Jājapura, District Cuttack." [1]

The names of many queens of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga have been found in the inscriptions ; Kasturikāmodinī, Indirā and Chandralekhā are mentioned in the copper plate grants of his descendants. Somalā-*Mahādevī*, *Lakshmīdevī* and Pṛithvī-*Mahādevī* are mentioned in the votive inscriptions. The names of two other queens have become illegible in the Mukhaliṅgam inscriptions. Four of his sons reigned after him. Their names are Kāmārṇava, Rāghava, Rājarāja II and Aniyaṅkabhīma or Anaṅgabhīma. Another son, named Umāvallabha, is also mentioned in a votive inscription. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga had a younger brother whose name is not known to us, but his wife made some gifts at Mukhaliṅgam. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava from the queen Kasturikāmodinī. There is some differences of opinion amongst scholars regarding the date of the accession of Kāmārṇava. The late Dr. F. Kielhorn[2] was of the opinion that the accession of Kāmārṇava took place in 1142 A.D. He places the accession of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in 1078 and regards 70 years as the total period

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXXII, 1903; pp. 110-11.*

[2] *Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII. App. I., p. 17.*



Frieze in the corridor of the upper storey of the Rani Nur Gumpha—
—(e) King seated in a dancing hall

of his reign. This would place the death of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in 1148 A.D. Kāmārṇava was anointed in the Śaka year 1064=1142 A. D., but Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was alive and ruling in Śaka 1069 according to a votive record from Mukhaliṅgam. Therefore, the coronation or anointment of Kāmārṇava does not mean his actual accession to the throne.[1] Our difficulties with regard to Gaṅga chronology begins from this date. The next four kings are known from the inscriptions of their distant successors and these inscriptions mention that such and such ruled for 10 years or 15 years as the case may be. Kāmārṇava is said to have ruled for 10 years. We do not know from what date these 10 years are to be counted. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was alive in Saka 1069= 1148 A. D. This would mean that Kāmārṇava ruled till 1158. His latest known date is Śaka 1077, which corresponded to the 10th year of the reign of the king. This brings us to 1155 A. D. We do not know whether the dates given in the votive inscription are regnal years or *Āṅka* years. If they are *Āṅka* years, then the 10th *Āṅka* is the 8th year as the first and sixth *Āṅkas* are not counted, and the 12th *Āṅka* would fall in 1157-58 A. D. The coronation of Kāmārṇava took place when his father was very old and unable to govern the kingdom. This was actually suggested by the late Mr. Chakravartī. The sons of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga were very probably old men when they succeeded to the throne. Kāmārṇava died very probably in the Śaka year 1078=1156 A. D., and was succeeded by his step-brother Rāghava. Kāmārṇava is also called

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXXII, 1903, part I., p. 108.*

Anantavarman in the votive inscriptions. In one or two cases only he is called Anantavarman Madhu-Kāmārṇava to distinguish him from his father. In one inscription at Mukhaliṅgam he is called Jaṭeśvaradeva. Like those of his father his inscriptions have been found at Śrī Kurmam and Mukhaliṅgam only.

Rāghava, the younger brother and successor of Kāmārṇava, is not known from any inscriptions. His date has been fixed from the calculations of the dates of his successor Rājarāja II. As the latter ascended the throne in Śaka 1092, the accession of his predecessor Rāghava falls in Śaka 1078=1156 A.D., because the latter ruled for 15 years according to the copper plates discovered at Puri and Kenduapatna. Rāghava's mother Indirādevī was a princess of the *Ravi-kula* or the Sūrya-vaṁśa. Most probably both Kāmārṇava and Rāghava died childless and therefore a third son of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga named Rājarāja obtained the throne in the Śaka year 1092=1170 A. D. The earliest known date of this king is Śaka 1093=1171 A. D., which was his third *Aṅka*. His latest known date is the Śaka year 1110=1188 A.D. From the calculations of the dates of the next king it has been determined that his last year was Śaka 1112=1190 A.D. The Puri and Kenduapatna plates credit him with a reign of 25 years, but this must be an *Aṅka* figure, because Rājarāja's successor, Anaṅgabhīma II, was actually on the throne in 1190 A. D. Rājarāja II, was the son of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga by queen Chandralekhā. He married Suramā, the sister of Svapneśvaradeva, who erected the Megheśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara.[1] In his old age he

[1] *Ibid., Vol. LXVI, 1897, part. I, pp. 11-24.*

handed over the kingdom to his younger brother Anaṅgabhīma II. The inscriptions of Rājarāja II also are to be found only at Mukhaliṅgam. The last year of the reign of Rājarāja II has been calculated from the inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma II, who ascended the throne in 1190 A. D.

Anaṅgabhīma or Aniyaṅkabhīma II was the last of the sons of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga to ascend the throne. Like his elder brothers Kāmārṇava, Rāghava and Rājarāja II, he is not called Anantavarman in votive inscriptions. He must have been very old when he came to the throne. The Puri and Kenduaptana plates assign 10 years to him, which, if they are *Aṅka* years, would be equivalent to 8 years, and from inscriptions of his son, Rājarāja III, we know that the last year of his reign was Śaka 1120=1198 A. D. which would thus make his reign to be 9 years. He was the only son of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga who was succeeded on the throne by his own son. During the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II, Svapneśvaradeva, the brother-in-law of Rājarāja II, erected the beautiful temple of Megheśvara at Bhuvaneśvara.[1] His Brāhmaṇa minister Govinda, erected a temple at Chāṭeśvara subsequently. Anaṅgabhīma died in 1198 and was succeeded by his son Rājarāja III.

With the accession of Rājarāja III a new era begins in Orissan history. During the last six or seven years of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma II the map of India had been completely changed by the fall of the great Rajput kingdoms of Northern India. Pṛithvīrāja II, the Chāhamāna king of Delhi and Ajmer, had fallen after the second battle of Tarain in 1192. The proud Jayachchandra had fallen on

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 198-203.*

the field of Chandawar in 1194. The Musalmans had advanced as far as Chunar and Maner near Patna at the time of the death of Anaṅgabhīma II. The fall of the great Buddhist University at Nālandā was imminent. The conquest of Western Bengal, which was to open the road to Orissa to the Musalmans, was to follow next year. We find that the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa were as unmindful of the impending catastrophe as the Chāhamānas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Chandelas, the Pālas and the Senas. Concerted action against the foreign invader or against the iconoclast, who was menacing the sacred Hindu religion, did not seem to have entered into the conception of Hindu kings and statesmen of Northern India in the 12th century. The grandsons of Anaṅgabhīma II revived and met Musalman aggression with equal vehemence, but for the time being Rājarāja III was completely paralysed by the first Musalman raids into Northern Orissa on account of the supineness of his father and grandfather.

APPENDIX

A number of inscriptions of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga have been discovered during recent years but none of them seem to have been published in any recognised journal on Indology. Recently some of them have been published in a list of kings in connection with the title *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati* by Mr. G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S. :

I. The Chikali plates of the same king, *i.e.*, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Śaka year 982=1060 A. D., published in the Telegu journal *Bharathi*, vol. II, part 2.

II. The Boddapadu plates of the same king of the Śaka year 982=1060 A. D. published in the Telegu journal *Bharathi*, vol. III, part 5.

III. The Korṇi plates of the same king of the Śaka year 1034=1112 A. D., published in the Telegu journal *Bharathi*, vol. II, part II.[1]

These inscriptions are very important, as those dated 1060 A. D. must have been issued by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga before he conquered Utkala or Northern Orissa and in the lifetime of his father Rājarāja I, because his own coronation took place in 1078 A. D. and his father was alive in 1075 A. D.[2]

[1] *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIV, p. 542.*

[2] *Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII, app. ii, Table No. 22.*

CHAPTER XVII

THE EASTERN GAṄGAS—RĀJARĀJA III TO NARASIṀHA I

Rājarāja III was the only grandson of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga to succeed to the throne of Orissa. He was the son of Anaṅgabhīma II by his queen Bāghalladevī. This King is known to us from one inscription only, at Śrī-Kurmam, but he is mentioned in the inscriptions of his descendants, Narasiṁha II, Bhānudeva II and Narasiṁha IV. During his reign the Musalmans of Bengal invaded Orissa for the first time. This was the beginning of the raids which continued to devastate Orissa till her final conquest by the Musalmans in 1568. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Ikhtiyāruddīn Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī, the conqueror of Magadha and Northern Bengal, despatched an army towards Lakhanor and Jajnagar on the eve of his departure on the ill-fated expedition to Assam. The first raid into Orissa was commanded by two brothers named Muḥammad-i-Sherān and Aḥmad-i-Sherān. It was directed against Lakhanor and Jajnagar. There are reasons to believe that Lakhanor was situated somewhere near the ancient town of Nagar in the Birbhum district of Bengal and Jajnagar is Jajallanagar in Chhattisgaḍh. The majority of Musalman writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mention Jajnagar when they intend to refer to Orissa. In the case of the first Musalman raid into Orissa, the route mentioned shows that Muḥammad and Aḥmad came to Orissa by the old pilgrim road from Northern India. The result of this

expedition has not been recorded but it is stated that when these two brothers received intimation of the great disaster that had befallen the Musalman army in Assam and the leader of Musalman freebooters in Bengal, they hastened back to their headquarters at Devkot.[1] This invasion took place immediately before the death of Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī in A. H., 602=June or July 1205 A. D. As Rājarāja III had come to the throne in 1198, the first Musalman invasion took place in his 10th *Aṅka* of 8th year. He ruled till 1211 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Anaṅgabhīma III. Rājarāja III is mentioned in the Chāṭeśvara inscription of his son as Rājendra. He married Mankuṇḍadevī of the Chālukya family, probably of the Eastern Chālukya family of Veṅgī.

With the accession of Anaṅgabhīma III the Hindu Kings of Orissa lost their lethargy. The terror inspired by the first Musalman invasion appears to have worn off and, with the fall of the Hindu Kingdoms of North-eastern India, the Kings of Orissa seem to have realised their difficulties in being brought face to face with the barbarous Musalman customs of warfare. In these wars there was no open declaration of hostilities or amenities, such as those which existed among belligerent Hindu States. The early Musalman raiders were mere plunderers who destroyed life and property ruthlessly without any justification and who thought that any damage inflicted on, or destruction of the lives and property of, non-Musalmans was a sure road to glory. The long reign of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-38) coincided with the period of struggle between the early Sultans of Delhi and the Musalman Āmīrs of

[1] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Eng. Trans., pp. 573-74.*



Lion-rider, so-called Yavana and Dvarapala—upper storey—right wing—Udaygiri, Puri District

Bengal for supremacy in North-eastern India. After the death of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī, Bengal remained independant under the Turks till the rise of the Emperor Shamsuddīn Iltutmish of Delhi. The reign of Anaṅgabhīma III coincided to a very great extent with that of Malik Ḥasāmuddīn Iwāz, afterwards the Sultan Ghiyāṣuddīn Iwaz Shāh. His fall in 1226 brought Western and Northern Bengal within the limits of the Musalman Empire of Delhi. During the last years of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III, Iltutmish's son, Prince Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, and the Governors 'Alāuddīn Jānī, Saifuddīn Ibak-i-Yagantat and Izzuddīn Tughral Tughān Khān were his contemporaries. The second war with the Musalmans of Bengal took place sometime between A. H. 608 and 622. Mr. Chakravarti was inclined to place the war immediately after his accession, *i. e.*, 1212 A. D. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Ghiyāṣuddīn Iwāz Shāh had made the countries of Eastern Bengal (Banga), Assam (Kāmrup), Tirhut and Orissa tributary to him. Ghiyāṣuddīn Iwāz became independant in Bengal by putting down the principal leaders of the Musalman freebooters in 608 A. H., and he was defeated and killed in A. H., 624=1226 A. D. Therefore, his war with Anaṅgabhīma III must have taken place between 1212 and 1222 A. D. There is no truth in the statement of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* that Iwāz had made the Gaṅga king tributary to him,[1] because both sides claim the victory, Anaṅgabhīma III is credited with a victory over the Musalmans in his great Chāṭeśvara inscription ; "What more shall I speak of his heroism ? He alone fought against the Muhammedan King, and

1 *Ibid., pp. 587-88.*

applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes."[1] The defeat of the Musalmans by Anaṅgabhīma III is also referred to in the Bhubaneśvar inscription of the time of Narasiṁha II, now in the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Śaka 1200.[2] Evidently, Ghiyāṣuddīn Iwāz invaded Orissa and was repulsed.

Anaṅgabhīma III also fought with the Southern Haihayas or Kaḷachuris of Ratnapura. These Chiefs are mentioned as Kings of Tummāṇa, a place which still exists under the same name in the Bilaspur district. The ruins of Tummāṇa have been visited and described by Mr. Hiralal.[3] The Kings of Tummāṇa, who were contemporaries of Anaṅgabhīma III, are not known from the contemporary inscription, but they ruled over Bilaspur and Raipur till the Maratha conquest of the country in the middle of the 18th century. According to the inscriptions of Narasiṁha II and Narasiṁha IV, Anaṅgabhīma III ruled for 33 or 34 years. These have been correctly taken by Mr. Chakravarti to be *Aṅka* years ; therefore, the 33rd year was really the 27th year of the reign of the King. Anaṅgabhīma III is the first King of the dynasty whose inscriptions have been discovered in Northern Orissa. At least three inscriptions of this King have been discovered on the walls flanking the door of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Kṛittivāsa or

1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXVII, 1898, part I, pp. 322, 326.*

2 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 151.*

3 *Ind. Ant. Vol. LIII, 1924.*

Liṅgarāja leading to the *Nāṭya-mandira*,[1] at Bhubaneśvar in the Puri district. The first of these three inscriptions mentions the 4th year after the *abhisheka*, the second is dated *Śaka 1145, Dhanu Kṛi 1, Bhaumavāre*=9th January 1224 A. D., while the third inscription also contains a date which has not been properly read as yet.

The only other important record of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III is the great Chāṭeśvara inscription. It consists of 25 lines of writing on a slab of stone attached to the temple of Chāṭeśvara in the village of Krishnapur, *parganah* Padmapur, of the Cuttack district. The inscription is not dated and records the erection of a temple of Śiva by one Govinda, a brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra*. According to this inscription either Govinda or Anaṅgabhīma III erected several pleasure-houses at Purushottama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpurusha* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks.[2] According to Mr. Chakravarti the temple of Chāṭeśvara was erected in *circa*. Śaka 1142-1220 A.D. The same authority would ascribe a small gold coin with the letters "*Āṇa*" to Anaṅgabhīma III instead of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga,[3] Anaṅgabhīma III died in 1238 A. D., and was succeeded by his son, Narasiṁha I, the second great king of the Gaṅga dynasty.

1 These important inscriptions were covered with plaster by the local priests sometime after 1906. This plaster was removed at my request in 1926 and the inscriptions were copied in that year for Prof. A. Banerji-Śāstrī of the Patna College.

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXVII, 1898, part 1, pp. 317-27.*

3 *Ibid., Vol. LXXII, 1903, part 1, p. 118; Vol. LXVI, 1897, part 1, pp. 144-45, pl. VI.*

Narasiṁha I was the son of Anaṅgabhīma III by his wife Kasturadevī. He occupied the throne of Orissa in very difficult times. Bengal was being convulsed by the attempts of the rebel Musalman Āmirs of Bengal to throw off the yoke of Delhi. The strong hand of Shamsuddīn Iltutmish had been removed by death in 1235. At that time 'Izzuddīn Tughral Tughān Khān was the governor of the Musalman districts of Bengal and he remained so till 1244. During the long war of succession throughout the reigns of Sulṭān Rūknuddīn Firoz Shāh, Sulṭānā Razziyat, Sulṭāns Mui'zzuddīn Bahrām and 'Alāuddīn Masa'ud Shāh, he remained undisturbed in the North-eastern frontier of the Musalman Kingdom of Northern India. A war with Orissa in A. H., 641=1243 A. D., ruined him. In that year, according to Musalman historians, "The Rae of Jajnagar commenced molesting the Lakhanawati territory." It is quite probable that Narasiṁha I of Orissa took advantage of the stupid indolence of the Musalman officers in Bengal and advanced towards Gauḍ. At that time Southern Bengal with its capital Saptagrāma or Sātgāon, near Hooghly, was still independent under the Hindus. The Musalmans could not conquer it till 1298 A.D.[1] Even Navadvīpa or Nadia was not included within the Musalman dominions at this time. It was conquered by Sulṭān Mughiṣuddīn Yūzbak of Bengal in A. H., 653=1255 A.D. We do not know to whom Southern and Central Bengal belonged. Probably the Sena Kings of Eastern Bengal claimed these territories, but in any case an invasion from Orissa against the common enemy of all

1 *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. V, 1909. p. 248.*

Hindus must have been welcomed by them. Moreover, an invasion of Hindu territories in Southern and Central Bengal would not have affected the Musalman nobles and officers of Western Bengal. Narasiṁha I must have advanced too close to the Musalman headquarters at Gauḍ or Lakshmaṇāvatī to be neglected. Mālik 'Izzuddīn moved with his army to Katasin, the frontier outpost of Musalman Bengal, and an engagement ensued, in which, after some advantage, the Musalman army was completely defeated. A very large number of Musalman troops were killed and 'Izzuddīn saved himself by flight. From Gauḍ the vanquished governor sent an appeal for help to Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Masa'ud Shāh at Delhi, and Qamruddīn Tamūr Khān, the Governor of Oudh, was ordered to march to the assistance of 'Izzuddīn Tughral Tughān Khān. In the succeeding year Narasiṁha I invaded Musalman territories once more and advanced right up to the capital, Gauḍ or Lakshmaṇāvatī. 'Izzuddīn Tughral was not sufficiently careful and, therefore, Lakhanor, the Musalman headquarters in Rāḍhā or Rarh, a place in the Birbhum district, was captured by the Hindus and sacked. Fakhr-ul-mulk Karimuddīn Laghrī, the commandant of the place, was killed. The army of Narasiṁha I surrounded the Musalman headquarters at Gauḍ. In the meanwhile, Qamruddīn Tamūr Khān had reached the neighbourhood of that city, but such was the degeneration of the Musalman nobles of Northern India that, with the headquarters surrounded by Hindu troops, 'Izzuddīn Tughral Tughān and Qamruddin Tamūr began to quarrel among themselves. 'Izzuddīn was surprised by Qamruddīn Tamūr Khān and forced to resign the governorship of Musalman Bengal. This expedition of Narasiṁha I

is referred to in detail in the inscriptions of Narasiṁha II and Narasiṁha IV.

"The white river Gaṅgā blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanīs of Rāḍhā and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed by that monarch (*i. e.*, Narasiṁha I) into the blackwatered Yamunā."[1]

According to Minhājuddīn, the Hindu army retired in confusion after the appearance of Qamruddīn Tamūr Khān. This statement bears on its face the stamp of untruth. No victory is recorded for the Musalman army and not a word of praise is bestowed on the Governor showing that the Hindu army of Orissa plundered the Musalman districts thoroughly and then retired to their own country on the approach of the monsoon. Qamruddīn Tamūr Khān is said to have remained in a state of rebellion for two years till his death.

The next stage in the Musalman wars is reached in the reign of Yūzbak. Mālik Ikhtiyāruddīn Yūzbak was a slave of Iltutmish. Bilbun placed him in charge of Kanauj, whence he was transferred to Gauḍ or Musalman Bengal. Very soon hostilities began between him and Narasiṁha I. Ikhtiyāruddīn Yūzbak was appointed Governor of Musalman Bengal in 1246 and the war may have taken place in 1247. It is stated in the *Ṭabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī* that the commander of the army of Orissa was the son-in-law of Narasiṁha I, a person named *Sābantar*, evidently a corruption of *Sāmanta Rāya* and that the same

1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXV, 1896, part 1, p. 232.*

person had commanded the Hindu army which had driven 'Izzuddīn Tughral Tughān Khān to seek shelter in Gauḍ. The Musalman history states that this commander had been defeated by 'Izzuddīn and again by Ikhtiyāruddīn Yūzbak. But in the third battle Yūzbak was defeated and lost a white elephant which was considered very valuable. After this defeat he was compelled to seek aid from Delhi and invaded Orissa once more. He is said to have advanced as far as Armardan and compelled the King to evacuate this, his capital. The name of this place has been read by Major Raverty as Umardan or Armardan.[1] It appears to be the same place as that in memory of the conquest of which a silver coin was struck by Yūzbak from the mint of Lakhnautī in A. H. 653=1255 A. D. The legend on the margin of the reverse was read as "Struck at Lakhnautī as tribute of Arzbadan and Nudiya in the month of Ramaẓān of the year six hundred and fifty-three."[2] In a previous paper the present writer had proposed to identify this Arz-badan with Gar-bardan or Bardhan Kot in Northern Bengal,[3] but it seems more probable that this Arzbadan is the same as the Umurdan and Armardan of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is no doubt about the fact that no such place was the capital of Orissa in the 13th century. Yūzbak may have captured an important fort and with it some members of the royal family. The date of the coin makes it possible

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Eng. Trans., p. 763, note 4.*

2 *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, p. 146, no. 6.*

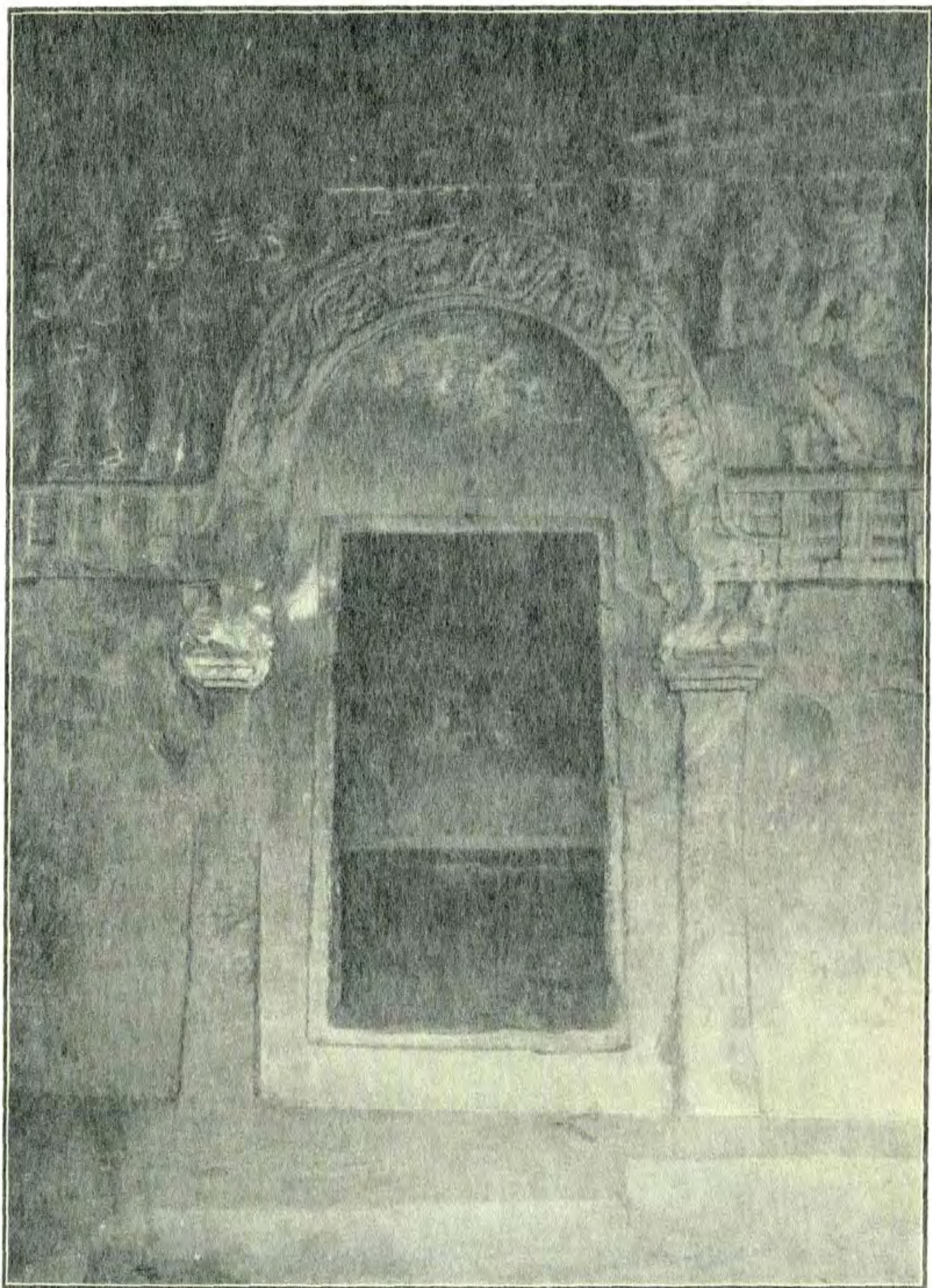
3 *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. IX, 1913, p. 288.*

to state that Yūzbak's last campaign in Orissa took place either in 1255 or shortly before that date. With his death in Assam in 1257 Musalman aggression in Orissa ceased.

Narasiṁha I will be remembered by posterity as the builder of the great temple of the Sun-God at Koṇakoṇa or Koṇārka near Gop in the Puri district. This fact is mentioned in the land-grants of all the successors of Narasiṁha I. According to an inscription at Śrī-Kurmam, Rājarāja of the Eastern Chālukya family was a minister of Narasiṁha I.[1] According to another inscription at the same place, a person named Sāhasa-malla made a grant at this temple during the reign of Narasiṁha I in 1251 A. D. According to the Bhubaneśvar inscription, now in the Royal Asiatic Society, Narasiṁha's brother-in-law, the Haihaya Prince Paramardin, fell fighting the battles of the King. Paramardin had married Chandrikā, a daughter of Anaṅgabhīma II. This Chandrikā built a temple of Vishṇu at Bhubaneśvar in the Śaka year 1200=1278 A. D., during the reign of her brother's grandson, Narasiṁha II.[2] A work on *Alaṅkāra* called *Ekāvalī* was composed in the reign of Narasiṁha I by a person named Vidyādhara in which Narasiṁha is called "The master of the kingdom of Yavanas, *i. e.*, Musalmans (*Yavan-āvanī-vallabha*). Narasiṁha I is also said to have defeated the *Hamīra, i. e.*, the Musalman Amirs of Bengal. The wars with the Musalman in Bengal are distinctly referred to as "*Vaṅga-saṅgara-sīmani*" along with the white waves of the Ganges, "*Gaṅgā-Taraṅga-dhavalānī.*"

The period of the reign of Narasiṁha I is the most

1. *Epi. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 33-34.*
2. *Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 150-55.*



Portion of the Frieze with door-way, consisting of round arch supported by Indo-Persepolitan pilasters—lower storey—ruined corridor—Rani Nur Gumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

glorious in the annals of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. By taking the offensive against the Musalmans of Bengal Narasiṁha I adopted the only policy that was likely to be successful against the Musalmans of Northern India. His campaign instilled a wholesome respect for the Hindus of Orissa in the minds of the Governors of Musalman Bengal. An exceptionally active Governor like Yūzbak may have launched campaign after campaign against Narasiṁha I, but the general effect of a forward policy on a Hindu State was magical in the 13th century. Till Bengal obtained autonomy under the descendants of Bilbun, Orissa practically remained unmolested ; not only so, the Southern districts of Western Bengal such as Midnapur, Howrah, and Hooghly became a part of the Kingdom of Orissa.

With the death of Narasiṁha I, we come to the end of the age of the great temple-builders in Orissa. The conqueror of Northern Orissa, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, had begun, if not completed, the great temple of Jagannāth at Purushottama or Puri. According to tradition, which is not always reliable, the temple was finished by Anaṅga-bhīma I. Those who have seen the great temple at Puri and its first *Maṇḍapa* called the *Jagamohana* in Orissa, before its exterior was covered with modern sand-plaster and whitewash, may remember its graceful outline and the beautiful carvings on the surface. It is certain that the *Nāṭyamandira* and the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* are later additions. This can be proved independently of the very doubtful testimony of the *Mādālā Pāñji*. The great temple of the Sun-God at Koṇārka consists of a sanctum *(Vimāna)* and one *Maṇḍapa* called the *Jagamohana*, showing that the two

later *Maṇḍapas* had not come into vogue in Orissa till 1264 A. D. When the present writer was engaged in the repairs of the temple of Kṛittivāsa or Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneśvar, he found that the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* were built at the same time but the *Nāṭyamandira* was added at a much later date. When the *Nāṭyamandira* was added, it destroyed the great beauty of a *Chaitya*-window in the centre of the facade of the *Jagamohana* against which the *Nāṭyamandira* was built. Similarly in the case of the little temple of Pārvatī in the same compound at Bhubaneśvar, the *Nāṭyamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa* are later additions. Therefore, originally the North-Eastern type of mediæval temples were of the same plan as the North-Western, consisting of a *Garbhagṛiha* and a *Maṇḍapa*. The incline of the corners of the sides of the *Śikhara* decreased in the 11th century, as proved by a comparison of the spire of the temple of Jagannātha with that of the Brahmeśvara or the Liṅgarāja temples at Bhubaneśvar. The activity in temple-building was not confined to the kings of this period only. The Bhubaneśvar inscription of Svapneśvaradeva and other minor records prove that the majority of madiæval temples of Orissa were built during the period extending from the reign of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga to that of Narasiṁha I. A decline set in after the death of Narasiṁha I, which lasted till the overthrow of the dynasty in the early years of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FALL OF THE EASTERN GAṄGAS—BHĀNUDEVA I TO NARASIṀHA IV.

Narasiṁha I died in the Śaka year 1186=1264 A. D. He was succeeded by his son Bhānudeva I, born of his queen Sitādevī. The dates of the reign of this king have been calculated from the details given in the Kenduapatna plates of his son Narasiṁha II. He is said to have ruled for 18 *Aṅkas* or 15 years. According to the statements in the copper plates of his successors, King Bhānudeva gave one hundred pieces of land with houses and gardens to *Śrotriya* Brāhmaṇas. He married Jākalladevī of the Chālukya family and was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha II.

According to the *Narahari-yati-stotra*, Narasiṁha II was an infant when his father died and the famous Vaishṇava scholar Narahari-tīrtha ruled as his regent for 12 years. Narahari was a disciple of the famous Ānanda-tīrtha, the founder of the Dvaita or Mādhva school of philosophy. According to the *Narahari-yati-stotra* which forms a portion of the *Stotra-mahodadhi*[1], Narahari's real name was either Rāma-śāstri or Sāma-śāstri. After his initiation by the great Mādhva teacher Ānanda-tīrtha, he was renamed Narahari-tīrtha. According to the orders of his *Guru*, he came to the capital of the Gajapati King to become a ruler. Narahari preferred to be an ascetic, but his Guru said, "You must go to the country of Kaliṅga

1 *Niraṇya-sāgara Press, Bombay, 1897, part 1.*

and obtain for me the images of Rāma and Sītā which I want to worship." When Narasiṁha II had attained majority, Narahari-tīrtha begged of him the images as a present and compensation for services rendered, from the royal treasury. Narahari obtained the images and took them to his Guru who worshipped them for eighty days and then made them over to his disciple Padmanābha-tīrtha, who gave them to Narahari-tīrtha after six years. Narahari carried the images about for some time and then gave them to Mādhava-tīrtha, another disciple of Ānanda-tīrtha. The statements in these Mādhva or Dvaita chronicles agree with certain inscriptions in the Kurmeśvara temple at Śrī-Kurmam in Chikakole *Tāluqa* of the Ganjam district. The first of these inscriptions records that in the *Śaka* year 1203 Narahari-tīrtha built a temple of Yogānanda-Nrisiṁha at Śrī-Kurmam. According to this inscription, Narahari-tīrtha had protected the people of Kaliṅga and defended Śrī-Kurmam from an attack of the wild Śabaras. The temple of Yogānanda-Nrisiṁha was dedicated on Saturday, the 29th March, 1281. There are five other inscriptions at Śrī-Kurmam recording gifts by Narahari-tīrtha. The earliest of these is in the temple of Kurmeśvara at Śrī-Kurmam and dated Friday, the 19th September, 1264, the year of the death of Narasiṁha I. The second of them was discovered in the temple of Lakshmī-Narasiṁha-Svāmin temple at Siṁhāchalam near Waltair and is dated Sunday, the 20th January, 1292. The third is also to be found at the same place and is dated Saturday, the 26th July, 1292. The fourth inscription is in the temple of Kurmeśvara at Śrī-Kurmam and is dated, Thursday the 21st May, 1293. The last inscription also comes from the

same place and is dated Sunday, the 3rd January, 1294.[1] The biggest inscription of Narahari-tīrtha, which records the dedication of the temple of Yogānanda-Nrisiṁha, appears to have been inscribed when the great teacher was still the Governor of Kaliṅga, but this would go against the statements of the Mādhva chronicles that Narahari-tīrtha was Governor of Kaliṅga and the regent of the Gajapati King, Narasiṁha II, for 12 years only from 1278 to 1290. The remaining inscriptions show that Narahari-tīrtha was in a position to make grants till the beginning of 1294. According to the calculations of the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri, Narahari-tīrtha became the pontiff of the Mādhva sect in 1324 or eighteen years after the death of his ward Narasiṁha II and he himself died in 1333 A. D.[2]

A very large number of inscriptions of Narasiṁha II have come to light. The majority of them come from Śrī-Kurmam and the last known date of this king is the Śaka year 1227=1305 A. D. The inscriptions assign to him a reign of 34 *Aṅkas* *i. e.*, 28 years. Therefore, Narasiṁha II must have died in 1306 A. D.

Prāchyavidyāmahārṇava-Siddhāntavāridhi Nagendranāth Vasu has recorded the discovery of three sets of copper plates consisting of seven plates in each set, in the village of Kenduapatna in the Kendrapada sub-division of the Cuttack district. Of these he has published only one set in an Oriental Journal with facsimiles. Of the remaining two sets one has been published in the Bengali Encyclopædia *Viśvakosha*. The inscription on these

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 266-68.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 260-66.*

three sets of plates give the entire genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas up to Narasiṁha II in one hundred and five verses and contain, moreover, some lines in prose. One of these three sets was issued in the Śaka year 1217=6th August 1296, Monday, which was the 21st *Aṅka* of Narasimha II. The object of this inscription is to record the grant of certain lands in two villages while the King was out on a campaign on the banks of the Ganges on the occasion of a Lunar Eclipse. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Bhīmadeva-śarmaṇ of the Kāśyapa *gotra* who held the title or rank of *Kumāra-Mahāpātra.* The wording of this inscription is very peculiar. It uses the words *Vijaya-samaye* and mentions that at that time the King was at Remuṇā, a place still existing in the Balasore district, which is regarded as a holy place by Bengali and Oṛiyā Vaishṇavas. The King's presence at Remuṇā close to the Ganges "in the time of conquest" indicates a campaign against the Musalmans of Bengal. It is stated that Mughiṣuddīn Tughral, the Governor of Bengal, who rebelled in the time of Sultan Ghiyāṣuddīn Bilbun of Delhi, invaded Orissa in A. H. 678=1275 A. D.[1] When the aged Emperor Bilbun started personally against Tughral, the latter had invaded Orissa once more, because he thought that Bilbun would not be able to stay in Bengal for a long time and that he would return to Gaur as soon as the former had retired. After Tughral's death in 1282 Narasiṁha II seems to have invaded Bengal once more. The date of the 3rd set of Kenduapatna plates indicates that the campaign was undertaken in 1296, *i.e.*, during the reign of Sulṭān Rūknuddīn Kaikāūs Shāh of the Bilbunī dynasty of Bengal, when the

1 *Riyāz-us-sālāṭīn, Eng. Trans., p. 79.*

eelebrated Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Muḥammad Shāh Khāljī was on the throne of Delhi. The date 1296 is very significant because about this time, Saptagrāma or Sātgāon was conquered by the Musalmans of Bengal. According to an inscription discovered at Triveṇī in the Hooghly district of Bengal, Saptagrāma was conquered by Ikhtiyāruddin Firoz Ītgīn Ulūgh-i-'aẓam before A. H. 698=1298 A. D.[1] It is possible that the campaign undertaken by Narasiṁha II on the banks of the Ganges had for its purpose an attempt to succour the unfortunate inhabitants of Southern Bengal from the dreaded and hated yoke of the Musalmans. We do not know what victories Narasiṁha II achieved and why the term *Vijaya-samaye*[2] was used, because for the time being Saptagrāma passed into the hands of the Musalmans of Bengal. The Kenduapatna plates mention a number of officers of this King by name. The *Śrī-Karaṇa* or Private Secretary was Śivadāsa, who measured the land in the village of Eḍzrā in the district of Derā. Another *Karaṇa* (Clerk) named Chandradāsa is mentioned as having measured the land in the village of Sunailā in the Svaṅga district. Some interesting names are to be found in this inscription. A portion of the land granted was named Gaṅgā-Narasiṁhapura in which a certain portion was given to a *Sebāit* named Allālanātha. The name Allālanātha becomes common later on, but this is the earliest instance of the use of the word *Sebāit* meaning the trustee of a religious endowment.[3]

1 *Jorurnal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series Vol. XXXIX, 1870, part 1, pp. 285-86.*

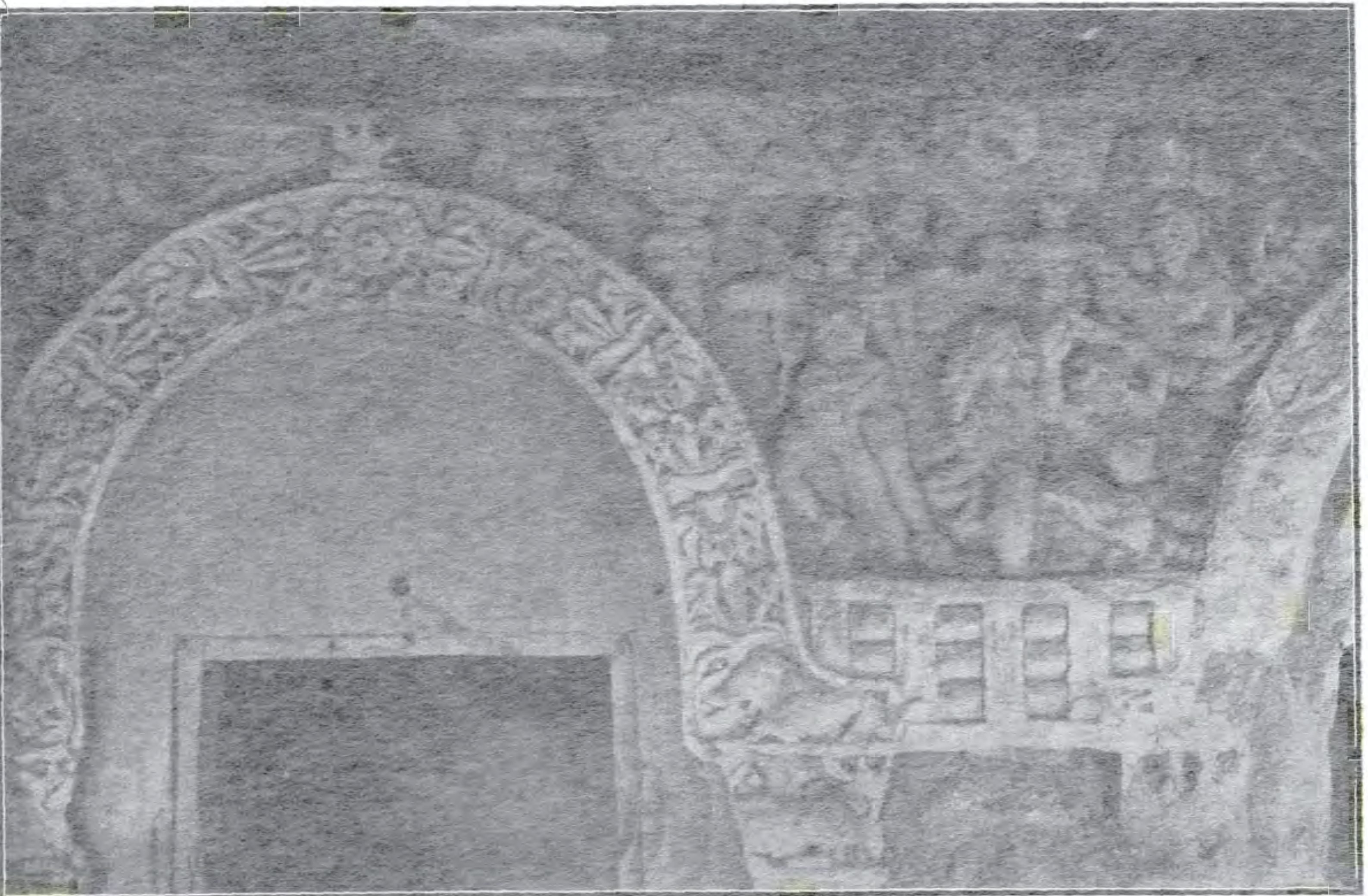
2 In modern Oṛiyā the term *vijaya* is used to denote the time when a king or chief appears in public or sits in court.

3 *Ibid., Vol. LXV, 1896, part 1, pp. 229-71.*

Prāchyavidyāmahārṇava-Siddhāntavāridhi Nagendra Nātha Vasu has published another of these Kenduapatna plates in the Bengali Encyclopaedia *Viśvakosha*, but the decipherment is extremely careless and there is no *facsimile*. It is, therefore, wiser not to make any serious use of Mr. Vasu's attempts, at decipherment in the *Viśvakosha*. This grant was issued from the camp at Rauhaṭṭa in the same year, *i.e.*, Śaka 1218. It records a grant to the same *Kumāra-Mahāpātra* Bhīmadeva-śarman. It seems to mention a district (*Vishaya*) named Remuṇā, a place well-known in the biographies of the Bengali Vaishṇava saint Chaitanya. It also mentions the river Suvarṇarekhā. Śivadāsa and Allālanātha are mentioned once more.[1] The third set of plates discovered at Kenduapatna does not seem to have been published anywhere.

Narasiṁha II is known from a large number of votive records in the temples of Śri-Kurmam in one of which a Minister of the King named Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇadeva, son of Doshāditya, is metioned. Nārasiṁha II died in Śaka 1228= 1306 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Bhānudeva II. The history of the reigns of Bhānudeva II depended so far entirely on the statements of the Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV and the scanty references in votive inscriptions at Sri-Kurmam. Bhānudeva II was a son of Narasiṁha II by his queen Choaḍdevī. The most important event of his reign was the invasion of Orissa by the Sultan Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughlaq Shah of Delhi. Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughlaq invaded Bengal in A. H. 724=1324 A. D., to interfere on behalf of one of the descendants of Bilbun named Nāṣiruddīn Ibrāhīm in the kingdom of Bengal. At this time his eldest

1 *Viśvakosha, Bengali, Calcutta, B. S. 1301, additions to p. 321.*



Frieze in ruined corridor of lower storey—Rani Nur Gumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District—dancing hall—female dancing with female musicians

son Ulūgh Khan, afterwards the Emperor Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq Shāh, invaded Orissa from the South. After capturing Varangal he advanced towards Rājamahendrī near the mouth of the Godāvarī, captured it and turned its principal temple into a Masjid. This Masjid along with the inscription of Prince Ulūgh Khān or Jūnā Khān can still be seen at Rājamahendrī.[1] The Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV credit Bhānudeva II with a victory over a king named Gayāsadina, who has been correctly identified by Chakravarti with Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughlaq Shah, but he is mistaken in thinking that the reference to the war with Ghiyāṣuddīn is the same as the capture of Rājamahendrī by Ulūgh Khān or Jūnā Khān. The inscription mentions *Gayāsadīna* specially indicating that Bhānudeva II had fought with Ghiyaṣuddīn Tughlaq Shāh during his campaign in Bengal. The passage runs thus: "The king's (Bhanudeva's) war with Ghayāsud-din beginning, the blood flowing from the neck of the many big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that it still shines in the sky in the disguise of sun-set glow."[2]

A set of plates recently discovered in the Puri district were brought to me in 1925 by a student of the Calcutta University, named Mr. Nirmal Kumar Basu, M. SC. These plates were six in number and only the first plate is

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1925-26, pp. 150-51.*

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXIV, 1895, part I. pp. 136,146.*

inscribed on one side. There is no ring and the plates were brought to me loose. Mr. Basu informed me that the plates were brought to the *Mahant* of the Emar *Maṭha*, a rich and powerful religious establishment in the town of Puri, by another *Mahant* of a village *Maṭha*. These plates are peculiar. The first five plates, beginning with the second side of the first plate and ending with that of the fifth plate are in verse. They give the complete genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Orissa from the Moon to Bhānudeva II. In these five plates there are altogether 191 lines of writing and the draft is a close copy of the Kenduapatna plates of Narasimha II. Up to Narasiṁha II the genealogy occupies 174 lines. Eighteen lines are devoted to the praise of his son, Bhānudeva II, but the whole of l. 191 is not completely taken up by the last verse and a little space has been left empty at the end. So it is quite possible that this genealogy of the king was kept ready to be used as occasion demanded and the sixth plate had no connection with it. But, on the other hand, the sixth plate is of the same size as the preceding five and it also bears writing of the same size and type. The second side of the first plate bears 24 lines of writing like that on the fifth plate. So it is also quite possible that the inscription on the two sides of the last plate are a continuation of the metrical portion on the first five plates. But the first line of the first side of the sixth plate begins with a fresh invocation : *Oṁ svasti subham-astu*. Then comes the date in words—the Śaka year 1234=1312 A. D. The usual royal titles are omitted and we find the phrase *Praśasti-stoma-virājamāna* before the name of a new king named Purushottamadeva. The date precludes the possibility of

this king being the emperor Purushottama of the Sūryavaṁśa dynasty, who ruled from 1470 to 1497. The date is continued after the name of the king—the seventh *Āṅka* of the victorious reign (the fifth year) the month of *Dhanuḥ* (*Āgrahāyana* or *Mārgaśīrsha*) the ninth day of the dark half, a Saturday (*Saurī-vāre*). Then the inscription goes on to state that in the camp or *Kaṭaka* of Purushottama, on the bank of the southern ocean, in the presence of Vīra-Śri-Bhānudeva, the *Sāndhivigrahika* Raṅgadāsa-śarman who was of the Vātsya *gotra* and the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajur-veda, received a grant of several villages ; such as Padmapāga-Sugalapura in the district of Koṇṭarāvanga, Somanāthapaḍā in the district of Chavanga. Towards the end of l. 198, or 1, 7 if the inscription on the sixth plate has no connection with that on the first five, it is mentioned that at Purushottama the order for the grant was communicated in the interior of the palace to Vīra-Śri-Bhānudeva *Rāuta* by the *Chakravartī* and *Mahāpatra* Narendradeva. Then follows the boundaries of the villages granted. A number of private persons are mentioned in lines, 210-15 or the last four lines of the first side and the first line of the second side of the sixth plate.

A *facsimile* of one plate of this inscription has been published by Mr. B. C. Majumdar,[1] whose unfortunate infirmity has made it impossible for him to decipher this long inscription correctly. After waiting for some time I have decided to undertake its publication personally, relying on the impressions taken by me in 1925. The text of the sixth plate leaves no doubt about the fact that in the *Śaka* year 1234 a king named Purushottama ruled at Purushottama

[1] *Orissa in the Making, Calcutta 1925, pp. 202-203,*

Kataka or Puri and that the second *Aṅka* or the first year of his reign was 1306 A. D. The late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti's masterly monograph on the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty does not mention any king of that name. The genealogy as given by him[1] does not show any Purushottama in the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. At that time only two stone inscriptions of this king were known. Both of them were discovered at Śrī-Kurmam, but the first record is dated *Śaka* 1231, *Kanyā*, *Śu.* 5, a Thursday. This date is irregular and cannot be verified. The inscription is also curious. It mentions a Chālukya chief named Viśvanātha, who was the son of Purushottama, and who gave forty gold coins to Vishnu, *i.e.*, Kurmeśvara. The second half of the inscription mentions that the *Śaka* year 1231 corresponded with the third year of the reign of Jagannāthadeva and that at that time Vīra-Bhānudeva was ruling. In the first place it is difficult to understand who this Jagannāthadeva was. Viśvanāthadeva, the son of Purushottama, was an Eastern Chālukya chief and he is the donee. Mr. Chakravarti has taken the *Śaka* year 1231=1309 A.D., to be the third year of the reign of Bhānudeva II, but the text of the inscription is perfectly clear. The year 1309 A. D. was the third year of the reign of a new king named Jagannāthadeva. At the same time Purushottama of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty cannot be Purushottama of the Puri plates, because at that time Viśvanātha of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty was ruling over Śrī-Kurmam. It appears that *Śaka* 1228 or 1306 A. D. was the year of accession of this new king, Jagannātha, as well as Purushottama of

1 *Journal of the Āsiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXXII, 1903. pp. 140-141.*

the Puri plates of *Śaka* 1234. Had any of these names occurred in the metrical portion of these two inscriptions, then they could have been taken as synonymous, as both are names of Vishṇu. But being in cold prose it is impossible to regard them as identical. Moreover, in the Śrī-Kurmam inscription of the *Śaka* year 1231, the style of the composition proves that Jagannātha was a feudatory of Vira-Bhānu II, but in the Puri plates of *Śaka* 1234, Vīra-Bhānu is not even styled a king. We must, therefore, regard Purushottama as an usurper who kept Bhānudeva II virtually a prisoner in the interior of his palace at Puri. Mr. Chakravarty placed his coronation in *Śaka* 1227 and his death in *Śaka* 1249-50. The first year or 2nd *Aṅka* of his son Narasiṁha III is certain, and, therefore, Bhānudeva II died in 1328 A. D. The Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV assign 24 years to him. If these are taken to be regnal years then his accession falls in 1304 A. D., which is absurd in view of the inscription on the new Puri plates. If they are taken to be *Aṅka* years, then his actual reign was 19 years, and his first year or the 2nd *Aṅka* falls in 1309 or the date of the Puri plates. It seems probable, therefore, that the usurpation of Purushottama did not last beyond his 7th *Aṅka* or 1312 A. D. A second stone inscription of Bhānudeva II was also discovered in the temple of Śrī-Kurmam. It records a donation by one Gharaḍāmājī Śrī-Rāma-Senāpati in *Śaka* 1243 on the 13th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, a Thursday, 6th August 1321. There is no *Aṅka* year in this inscription also and, therefore, it is not possible to determine the year of accession of Bhānudeva II correctly. This inscription mentions certain interesting details. Gharaḍāmāji is

described as the protector of Kaliṅga, breaker of Kumeli, slayer of Kañchāla, reducer of Koṇḍḍu, a lion to Gandra-dāmu Korama and, finally, a minister of Bhānudeva. None of these names or places could be identified by the late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti.[1] The usurpation of Purushottama cannot have had anything to do with the invasion of Jūnā Khān or his father. The demise of Narasiṁha II must, therefore, be placed in 1304-5.

Narasiṁha III, the son and successor of Bhānudeva II, was born of the queen Lakshmīdevi. According to the Puri plates he also ruled for 24 years. This is a regular regnal year because we possess his inscriptions of the 29th *Aṅka* which fell in Śaka 1272. He seems to have reigned for more than 26 years, because his son and successor ascended the throne in Śaka 1275 or 1276. Though we possess a very large number of votive inscriptions of this King, very little is known about him. Inscriptions at Śrī-Kurmam range from Śaka 1252 to 1272. We learn from these inscriptions that besides Kamalādevi, the mother of Bhānudeva III, Narasiṁha III had two other queens, named Gaṅgāmbā or Gaṅgāmbikā and Kommi-devāmmā. The King had a daughter named Sītādevi by the last-named queen. One of these votive records from Śrī-Kurmam record the important fact that Bhānudeva III gave to the temple of Śrī-Kurmum images of his father Narasiṁha III and his step-mother Gaṅgāmbikā holding lamps.[2]

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXXII, 1903, part I, pp. 130-31,*

[2] *Ibid pp., 134-35.*

Bhānudeva III was the son of Narasiṁha III by Kamalādevī. The decline of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty had become so marked that neighbouring kings took advantage of their condition and raided Orissa from all sides. The Musalmans were the earliest on the scene. Bengal had acquired independence under Shamsuddīn Iliyās Shāh in 1339. In 1353 Shamsuddin Illiyās raided Orissa.[1] The kings of the Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara conquered the whole of the Southern part of the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal and in 1356 Prince Sangama, a nephew of the Emperor Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara, defeated the Gajapati King. This is the earliest record of a war between the Hindu kings of Vijayanagara and Orissa. The Portuguese writer Fernao Nunez states that Bucarao, *i. e.*, Bukkarāya "took the Kingdom of Orya, which is very great ; it touches on Bemgalla."[2] The Emperor Firoz Tughlaq invaded Orissa at the time of his second expedition into Bengal. Major Raverty has translated this portion of the *Tārikh-i-Firūz-Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj-'Afif. In this account the position of Jājnagar is given correctly. Firoz Tughlaq advanced from Bihar towards Gaḍhakataṅkā. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province, which is the same as the British district of Jubbulpur. Having crossed the Mahānadī he reached the town of Banārsi.[3] The Haihaya King of Jājnagar fled into Telingana. After passing through Jājnagar territories Firoz Tughlaq entered the Kingdom of Bhānudeva III while hunting.

1 *Āin-i-Ākbari, Vol. II p. 219, note 1.*

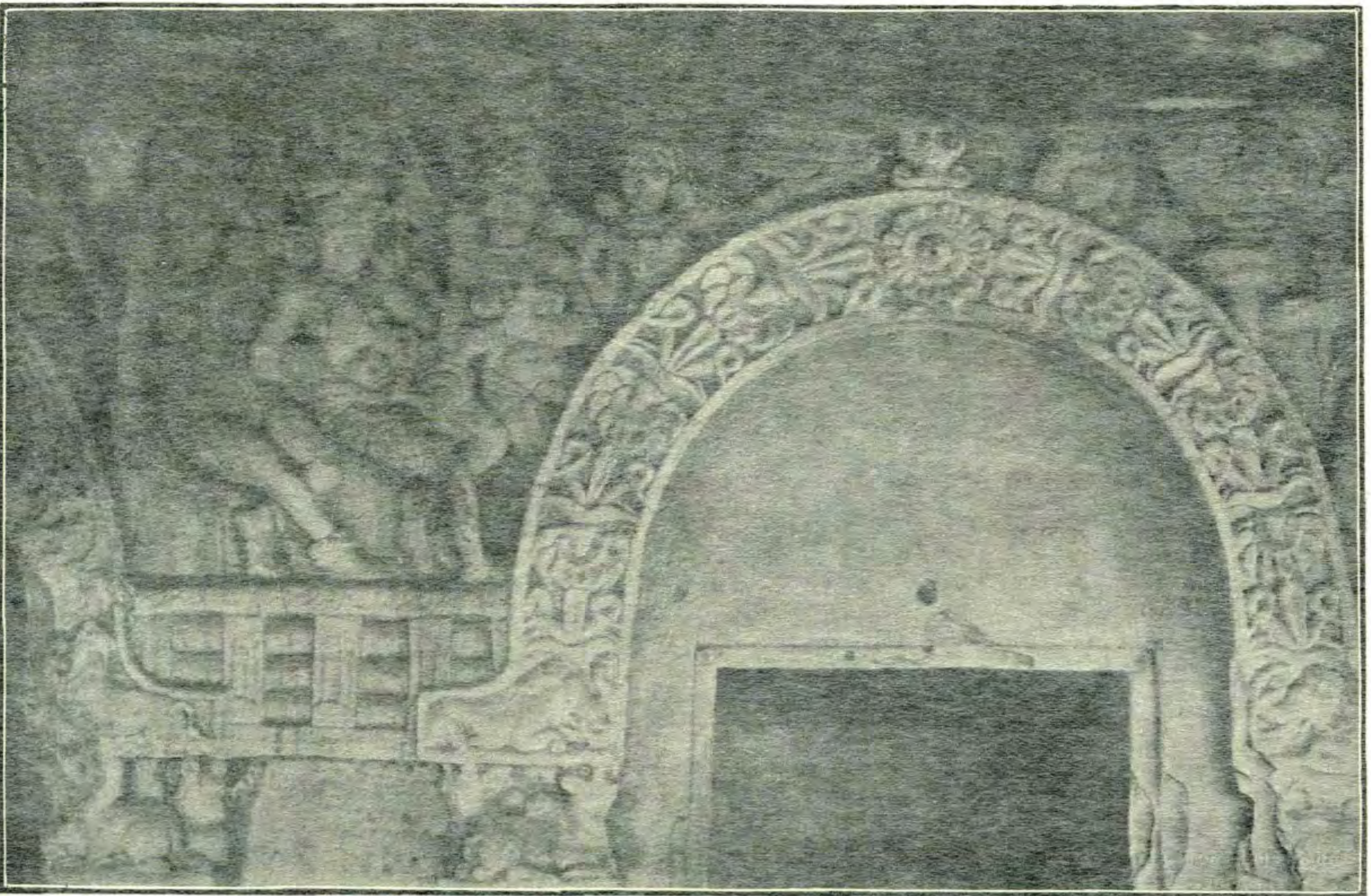
2 *Sewell—A forgotten Empire, p. 300.*

3 Katak on the Mahānadī was known as Katak Banaras even in the time of the Later Mughals.

Bhānudeva sent him some elephants and Firoz Tughlaq returned to Karah near modern Manikpur. This expedition took place in A. H. 762=1361[1] A. D. Only three votive inscriptions belonging to the earlier part of thc reign of Bhānudeva III have been discovered at Śrī-Kurmam. As the 3rd *Āṅka* of his son, Narasiṁha IV, falls in Śaka 1301=1379 A. D., Bhānudeva II must have died in the preceding year, *i. e.*, 1378 A. D.

Narasiṁha IV, the last known king of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, was a son of Bhānudeva III by the qeen Hīrādevī of the Chālukya family. Orissa continued to be the happy hunting ground of the neighbouring monarchs, specially the Musalman kings. Narasiṁh IV is known from two copper plate grants discovered in the town of Puri ; the first of these was found in Maṭh Tirmali, opposite the Northern gate of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, while the second one was discovered in Maṭh Śan-karānanda about a mile and a half from the same temple. These two inscriptions give us the entire genealogy, mythical and real, of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, from the Moon to Narasiṁha IV. Besides these two copper plate inscriptions, Narasiṁha IV is known from at least five other inscriptions discovered at Śrī-Kurmam. According to Puri copper plates issued from *Vārānasi-Kaṭaka*, *i. e.*, Cuttack, in the Śaka year 1305, which was the eight *Āṅka*, the village of Kinari was granted. The equivalent of the date is 6th March 1384. By the second Puri Copper plate which was issued from the same place in the Śaka year 1316 which corresponded to the 22nd *Āṅka*, some land measuring 30 *vāṭikās* was given away. The late Mr.

1 *Tubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī Eng. Trans, notes on pp, 589-92.*



Portion of the Frieze—Royal devotees—a king, two queens, with two female attendants—corridor of the lower storey—Rani Nur Gumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

Monmohan Chakravarti calculated that the date of the second grant corresponded with Tuesday 23rd November 1395, old style. Two other dates in the second grant show that Narasiṁha IV was at a place named Devakūṭa on Wednesday the 22nd November 1396 A. D., and at Nārāyaṇapura on the 24th February 1397 A. D. The grants were made in the presence of a number of officers who are montioned by name. In the first grant we find the mention of :

(1) Gaḍesvara Jenā, Door Examiner (*Dvāra-Parīksha*),
(2) Laṇḍusani Miśra, Commander-in-Chief (*Buḍhāllenkā*),
(3) *Mahāpātra* Narendradeva Chakravarttī, Examiner of Accounts (*Bhaṇḍāria Thāu Poroparīksha*),
(4) *Mahāpātra* Naraharidāsa Praharāja, the donee,
(5) *Mahasenāpati* Svapneśvara, Writer of Accounts (*Poro-Śrī-Karaṇa*),
(6) *Mahāsenāpati* Vaidi, Writer of Accounts.

In the second plate are mentioned

1. *Mahāpātra Kṛishṇānanda, Sāndhivigrahika*,
2. *Mahāpātra* Lāṇḍuratha,
3. *Mahāpātra* Gopīnātha, *Sāndhivigrahika*,
4. *Pātra* Bhuvanānanda *Sāndhivigrahika*,
5. *Pātra* Siddeśvara Jenā, Door Examiner (*Dvāra-Parīksha*),
6. Trivikrama *Sāndhivigrahika*,
7. *Mahāśenāpati* Viśvanatha, Writer of Accounts (*Śrī-Karaṇa*).

The following officers were present in the room of worship at the time of the counting of beads *Japasamaya* :

1. *Pātra* Mahāmuni-Purohita,

2. *Sāndhivigrahika* Trivikrama, Door Examiner (*Dvāra-Parīksha)*,
3. Somanātha Vāhinīpati, Commander-in-Chief (Buḍhāleṅkā),
4. Narahari *Sāndhivigraha*, Treasurer of the Inner Treasury (*Bhitara-Bhaṇḍāra-Ādhikārī)*,
5. *Mahāsenāpati* Viśvanātha, Writer of Accounts (*Poro-Śrī-Karaṇa*).

In the camp at Nārāyaṇapura the following officers were present when the king had finished his worship :

1. Somanātha Vāhinīpati, Commander-in-Chief (*Buḍhāleṅkā*),
2. *Sāndhivigraha* Bhuvaneśvara,
3. *Sāndhirigraha* Lakshmaṇānda,
4. *Sāndhivigraha* Narahari, Treasurer of the Inner Treasury,
5. *Sāndhivigraha* Trivikrama, Door-keeper (*Thāudvāra-Parīksha*),
6. *Mahāpātra* Gateśvardāsa, Examiner of Accounts (*Puro-parīksha*).

The mention of the names and ranks of these officers enable us to form a correct picture of the officials of a Hindu kingdom in India at the end of the forteenth century. The titles *Sāndhivigraha* and *Mahāpātra* had become personal. Vernacular titles have been given to the Commander-in-Chief, *e. g.*, *Buḍhāleṅkā* for *Mahābalā-dhikṛita*. Many of the other titles are in the local vernacular instead of Sanskrit. The most important parts of the grants are the portions relating to the donee and the land granted, which are in the local vernacular. These are the earliest known specimens of the Oṛiyā language.

Mr. Chakravarti states : "The language shows that in words and syntax the old Uriya of five hundred years ago, was nearly the same as now." The first grant of 1384 A. D. records the gift of the village of Kinnarī in the Uttarakhaṇḍa Kalabho Government to *Mahāpātra* Naraharidāsa. The village yielded 900 *Māḍhās* of gold and at the time of the grant its name was changed to Vijaya-Narasiṁhapura. A part of the land granted was the homestead, with a house of a brāhmaṇa named Svapneśvara. Among villages named as boundaries of the village of Kinnarī, several still exist in the Puri district, *e. g.*, Bhākharashāhi and Makulunda. The second grant of 1395 records the donation of the villages of Saiso and Rādāso to a brāhmaṇa named Devaratha Āchārya, who was the priest in the temple of Ugreśvaradeva. The villages yielded 449 *Māḍhās* of gold and many of the villages mentioned as boundaries still exist. The villages of Saiso and Rādāso were included in the Madanakhaṇḍa district (*Vishaya*), the Odamolo sub-division in the Government of Koshṭadeśa. The language and the form of these two grants prove that the Baud plates of Kanakabhañja which Mr. B. C. Mazumdar would have us believe to be dated in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century is a clumsy forgery.[1] From the end of the 4th century the Oṛiyā language predominated in land grants of Orissa and in the 15th century the Oṛiyā script drove out the older proto-Bengali cut of that province. This is proved by the two Puri plates of Narasiṁha IV[2]

[1] *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Society, Vol. XIV, pp. 115-26;* see also *Vol. II, pp. 356-74.*

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXIV 1895, part 1, pp. 128-54.*

and the Balasore plate of the Emperor Purushottama of the Surya-vaṁśa dynasty.[1]

Throughout the long reign of Narasiṁha IV Musalmans continued to invade Orissa from all sides. In A.H. 796-802=1393-1399 A.D. Mālik-ush-Sharq of Jaunpur is said to have compelled the King of Jaimagar to pay tribute,[2] In A. H. 815=1412 A.D., the Bahmanī Sulṭān Tājuddin Firoz Shāh invaded Orissa and carried off a number of elephants.[3] Finally, in A.H., 825=1422 A.D., Sulṭān Hoshang Ghorī of Mālwā came disguised as a merchant towards Orissa. He captured the king, who purchased his liberty by presenting Hoshang with a number of elephants.[4] The last named episode may also have taken place in Ratanpur or Tummāṇa, and not in Orissa.

We know from the inscriptions at Śrī-Kurmam that Narasiṁha IV was recognised as the King of Orissa till Śaka 1346=1425 A.D. No inscriptions of any king of the Eastern Gaṅga danasty later in date has been discovered. We do not know when the reign of Narasiṁha IV came to an end. It seems to have lasted nearly half a century. The chronicles of the temple of Jagannātha, the *Mādalā Pāñji*, state that the last king of the Gaṅga dynasty was Bhānudeva IV, nick-named *Ākaṭā Ābaṭā*, also known as the mad king. No inscriptions of this king have been discovered. The same chronicle states that after the death of Bhānudeva IV, Kapilendra or Kalileśvara, his

1 *Ind. Ānt., Vol. I, 1871, pp. 353-56.*

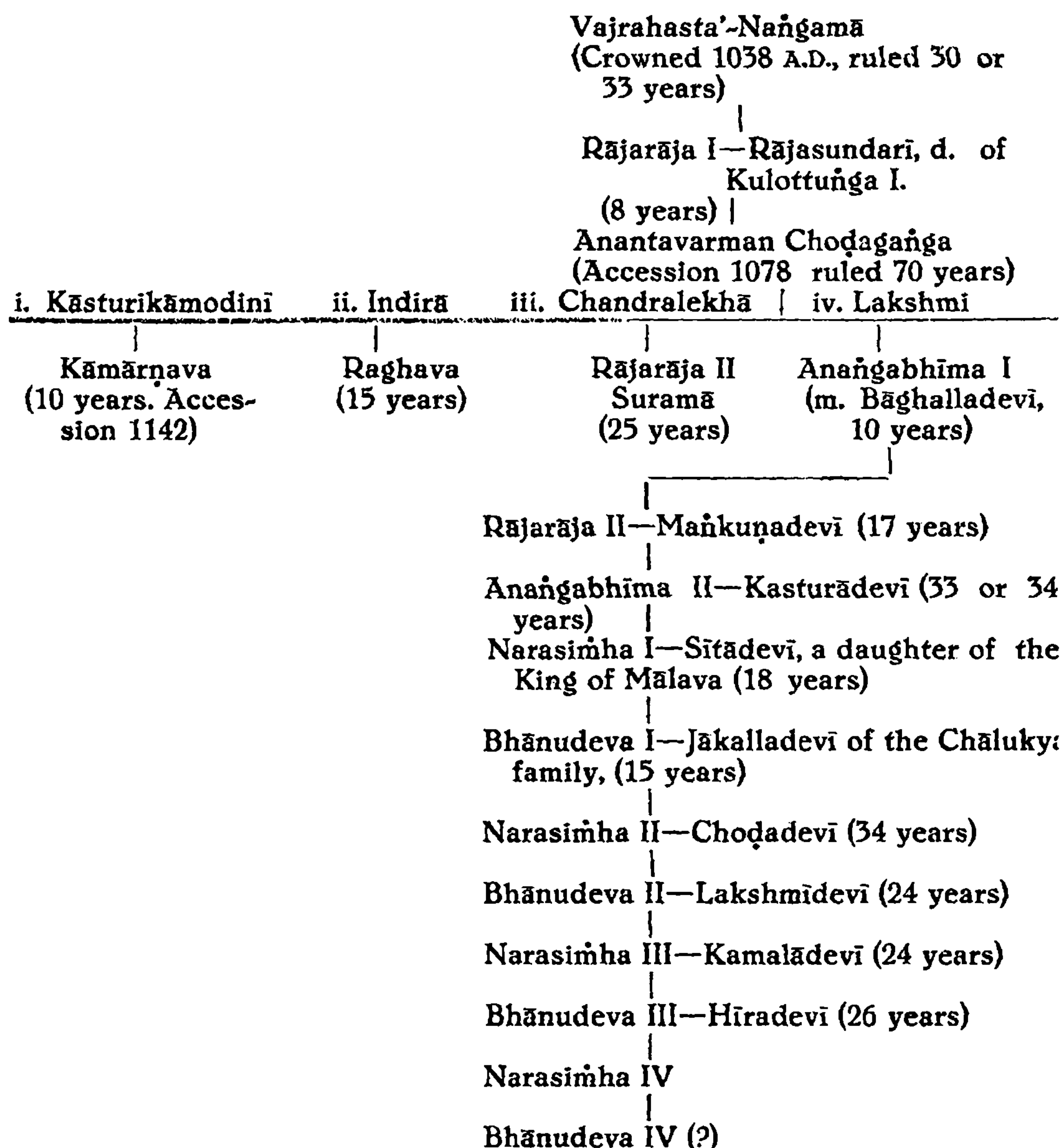
2 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Eng. Trans., p. 589 note.*

3 *Ibid., p. 592, note.*

4 *Ibid., p. 589, note.*

minister, usurped the throne and became the founder of the Sūryavaṅśa dynasty in 1434-35 A.D.[2]

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE EASTERN GANGAS



2 The entire chapter is based on the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti's excellent discourse on "the Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. LXXII, 1903, pp. 97-141.*

CHAPTER XIX

THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE—KAPILENDRA

The fall of the Eastern Gaṅgas was followed by a sudden accession of power of the monarchs of Kaliṅga and Orissa, which was unparalleled except, perhaps, in the time of Khāravela. Kapilendra or Kapileśvara, originally a *Mahāpātra*, obtained the throne in 1435-36. A. D. The late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti's calculations have proved beyond doubt that the actual date of his coronation or accession to the throne was 1435 A.D., proving thereby that all manuscripts of the *Mādalā Pāñji* and, therefore, modern accounts based on them, are hopelessly wrong. In his account of the dynasty founded by Kapilendra, Mr. Chakravarti has proved that

4th *Āṅka* or 3rd year=1436-37 A.D.
19th *Āṅka* or 16th year=1449-50 A.D.
25th *Āṅka* or 21st year=1454-55 A.D.
33rd *Āṅka* or 27th year=1460-61 A.D.
37th *Āṅka* or 30th year=1463-64 A.D.
41st *Āṅka* or 33rd year=1466-67 A.D.

Therefore, the 2nd *Āṅka* or 1st year=1434-35 A.D.

The correctness of Mr. Chakravarti's calculation is proved by the *Būrhan-i-Ma'aṣir* which has recorded the year of Kapilendra's death as A.H. 875=1470 A.D.[1] According to the *Mādalā Pāñji* the king's accession took place at camp Kṛittivāsa or Bhuvaneśvara on Wednesday *Kākaṛa, 2, Śu. 4, i.e.*, in the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is probable that from

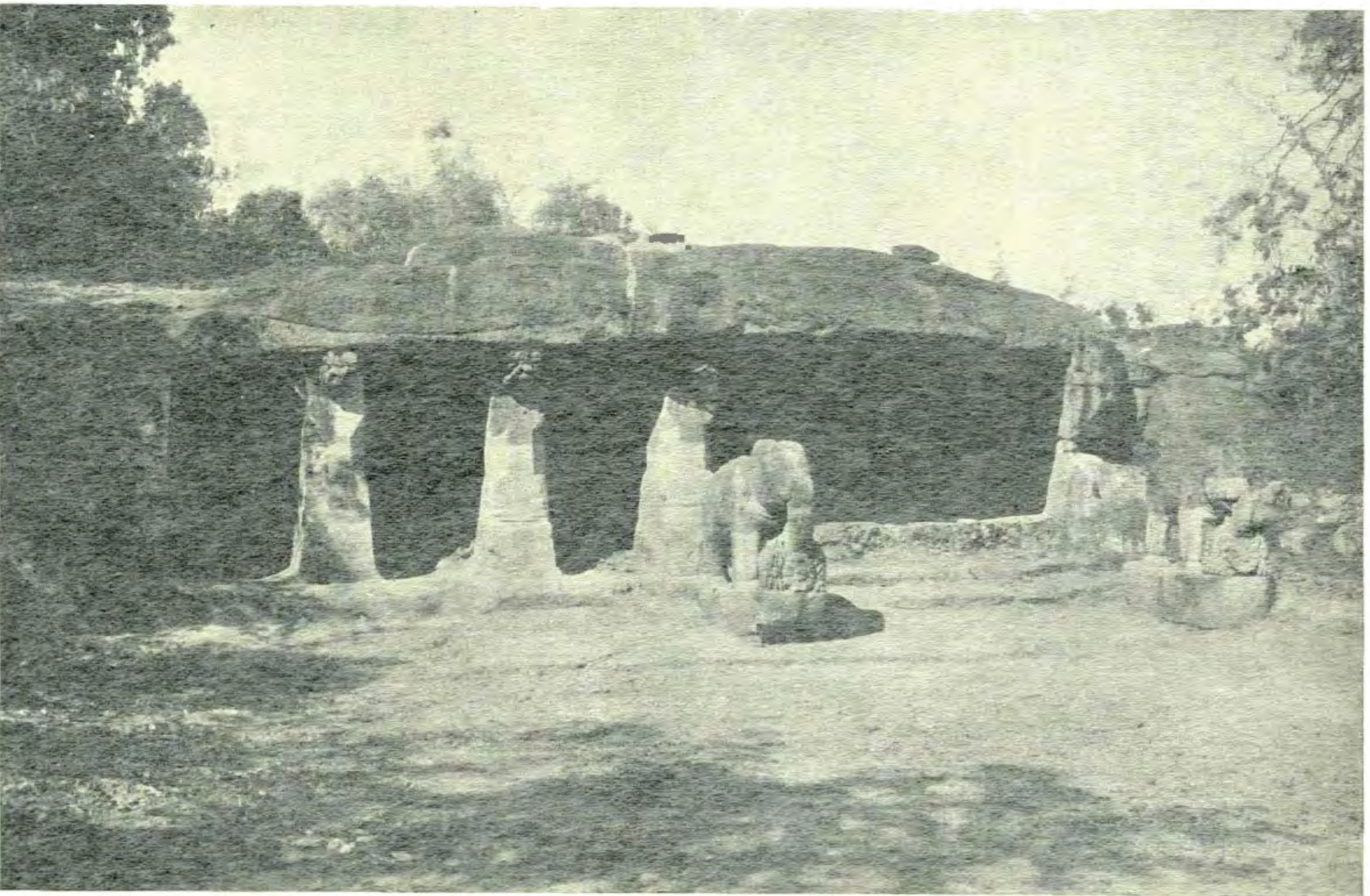
[1] *Ind., Ant., Vol. XXVIII, 1899. p. 285.*

1434-35 to 1452 or 1454 Kapilendra was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the princes of the Eastern Gaṅga family and, therefore, the Puri record places his accession at a time when the rebellion of the last ambitious prince of the former line of kings had been crushed.

During the last days of its existence the power and prestige of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty had declined considerably. They were being hard pressed by the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal from the north and by the Bahmanī Sulṭāns from the south-west. The emperors of Vijayanagara had also conquered the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal as far as, at least, the mouth of Godāvarī. A clear instance is to be found in the list prepared by Sewell of the rulers of Koṇḍaviḍu. One Lāṅguliyā Gajapati was succeeded by the Reḍḍi king Rācha Veṅka (1420-31). Then came two sovereigns of Vijayanagara who are called Pratāpadeva (Devarāya II) and Harihara. They were succeeded by Kapileśvara of Orissa. This sequence clearly indicates that Koṇḍaviḍu had been conquered by the emperors of Vijayanagara from some of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings, but it was reconquered from them by the emperor Kapileśvara.[1] The date of the rise of Kapilendra coincides with the commencement of the decline of the Yādava or Voḍeyar dynasty of Vijayanagara. Kapilendra ascended the throne of Orissa during the lifetime of Devarāya II and continued to reign till its fall. The Sāḷuva usurpation and the declining power of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns favoured his widespread conquest of Southern India and the establishment of the prestige and power of the monarchy of Orissa. In 1664-65

[1] Sewell—*A sketch of the dynasties of Southern India, p. 48 and note 3.*

Kapilendra had succeeded in conquering the whole of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal as far as the South Arcot district. Except Khāravela no other king of Kaliṅga or Orissa had succeeded in ruling over such a wide stretch of the eastern coastland. His occupation of the South Arcot district was not temporary, as it lasted for over ten years. Neither was it a mere raid, as two inscriptions discovered in the villages of Munnur and Jambai clearly indicate. A considerable amount of misunderstanding exists amongst scholars, especially those who hail from Southern India about the true nature of the conquest of Kapileśvara in the Tamil country. With the exception of these two inscriptions in the South Arcot district, Kapilendra is chiefly known to us from votive records discovered at Bhuvaneśvara, Jagannātha temples in the Puri district of Orissa, the temple of Śrīkurmam in the Ganjam district of Madras, and a charter of a feudatory named Gāṇadeva of Koṇḍaviḍu in the Telugu or Andhra country. We are not in a position to determine the exact chronology of events of the reign of Kapileśvara from these records, as most of them are votive inscriptions. We get some help from the *Tārikh-i-Firishta* and the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir*, but these records are always unreliable where Hindu kingdoms are concerned. Kapilendra was the contemporary of Bahmanī Sulṭān' Alāuddīn Aḥmad II, who ascended the throne on the 21st February, 1435. One of the earliest events mentioned in the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* is the attempt on the part of the Bahmanī Sulṭān to conquer the uplands of the Telugu country. It is stated in this work that the leader of the Hindu chief of the highland of Telingana or that part of the Telugu-speaking country



Front facade of the Ganeshgumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

which lay above the ghats, was an Oriya. Kapileśvara is not mentioned by name but the statement in the Musalman history about the number of elephants possessed by this Oṛiyā chief proves that he was no ordinary chief but the great Gajapati king himself. This statement proves that soon after his accession Kapilendra was in possession of the Telugu country, not only the flat coastland between the foot of the Eastern Ghats and the Bay but also the greater portion of the eastern edge of the Deccan plateau, which the Musalmans had not yet succeeded in subduing. The *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* states that a chief named Sanjar Khān was engaged in the delightful pastime of raiding Hindu kingdoms and capturing non-combatants in order to sell them as slaves in Musalman kingdoms. Hearing this, the Bahmanī Sultan 'Alāuddin Aḥmad Shāh is stated to have said that it was dangerous to meddle with a man who possessed more than two hundred thousands war elephants, while he himself did not possess even two hundred. This is just the beginning of Kapilendra's activities outside Orissa proper, when he started to increase the original limits of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas to found an empire. According to the same Musalman history, a rebel chief named Muḥammad Khān was appointed to govern the district of Rāyāchal.[1] Though Varaṅgal was occupied in 1423, the northern districts of Telingana both above and below the Ghats remained to be conquered. According to the *Tārikh-i-Firishta* Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī desired to consolidate the conquest of Varaṅgal or *Eka-śilā-nagarī* by subduing the outlying districts. Khwājah-i Jahān was sent with a large army to

[1] *Ind., Ant., Vol. XXVIII, 1899, pp. 237-8.*

capture Devārkoṇḍā. The Telugu chief of that place appealed to Kapilendra for help who was possibly his suzerain. Kapilendra marched so swiftly to the relief of Devārkoṇḍā that he caught the Musalman army unwares. The besieged Hindus also sallied out and attacked the besiegers from the other side. Caught at a disadvantage between two armies, Khwājah-i-Jahān was compelled to seek safety in flight. According to *Firishta* this battle took place approximately in A. H. 864=1459 A. D. The Bahmanīs never again attempted to conquer any part of Telingana during the lifetime of Kapilendra and the Musalman historians had to invent plausible excuses for this disgraceful defeat of the Musalman army and the subsequent failure of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī to retrieve the prestige of Bahmanī arms. It is possible that on this occasion, or a little before that, Kapilendra wiped out the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍaviḍu and other places. This was the relation between the Bahmanī Sulṭāns and the newly founded empire of Orissa. A Sanskrit drama named *Gaṅgādāsa-Pratāpa-Vilāsam* by Gaṅgādhara states that after the death of Devarāya II the Bahmanī Sulṭan combined with the Gajapati king and invaded Vijayanagara territories,[1] but were defeated by the Vijayanagara emperor Mallikārjuna. Both statements are unreliable, because, in the first instance, the relations of Kapilendra Gajapati were never cordial with Devarāya II and his death was hailed with great delight and relief by the Musalmans of the Deccan. Devarāya II died in February 1449 and the accession of his son Mallikārjuna took place in the same year. The

1. S. K. Ayyangar—*Sources of Vijayanagar a history. University of Madras, 1919, p. 65.*

war with the combined armies of Kapilendra and 'Alāuddīn Aḥmad II (1436-58) must have taken place in 1451. A war had indeed taken place, because the inscriptions of Kapilendra discovered in the South Arcot district prove that his occupation of the northern portion of the Tamil districts lasted for more than ten years. It is impossible, for reasons mentioned above, that Kapilendra had allied himself with the Musalmans of the Bahmanī State and, in the second place, it is absolutely impossible to credit the dramatist Gaṅgādhara and believe that Mallikārjuna was successful in repelling the invasion, because the Jambai inscription in the South Arcot district states clearly that the repairs to the temple of Śiva had ceased for ten years before 1472-73.[1] Two inscriptions discovered at Muṇṇur in the South Arcot district prove that Kapileśvara had conquered the whole of the northern districts of the Tamil country as far as Tiruvarur in the Tanjore district and Trichinopoly. These two inscriptions are dated Śaka 1386=1464-65 A. D. The king mentioned is Kapileśvara or Kapilendra, but the form of the titles is queer : *Dakshiṇa-Kapileśvara-Kumāra-Mahāpātra.* The inscription records the gift of some land for the *Āhamvīra-bhoga* and repairs to the temples of Perumal-Purushottama and Tirumalattanamudaiya Śiva in the village of Muṇṇur in the *Tāluqa* of the same name on Thursday of the bright half of Pushyā of the Śaka year 1386=7th June 1464. A. D. This record proves that inspite of the queerness of the title Kapilendra was the master of the South Arcot district even towards the close of the reign of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara. A copy

1. *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy for 1906-7. p. 84.*

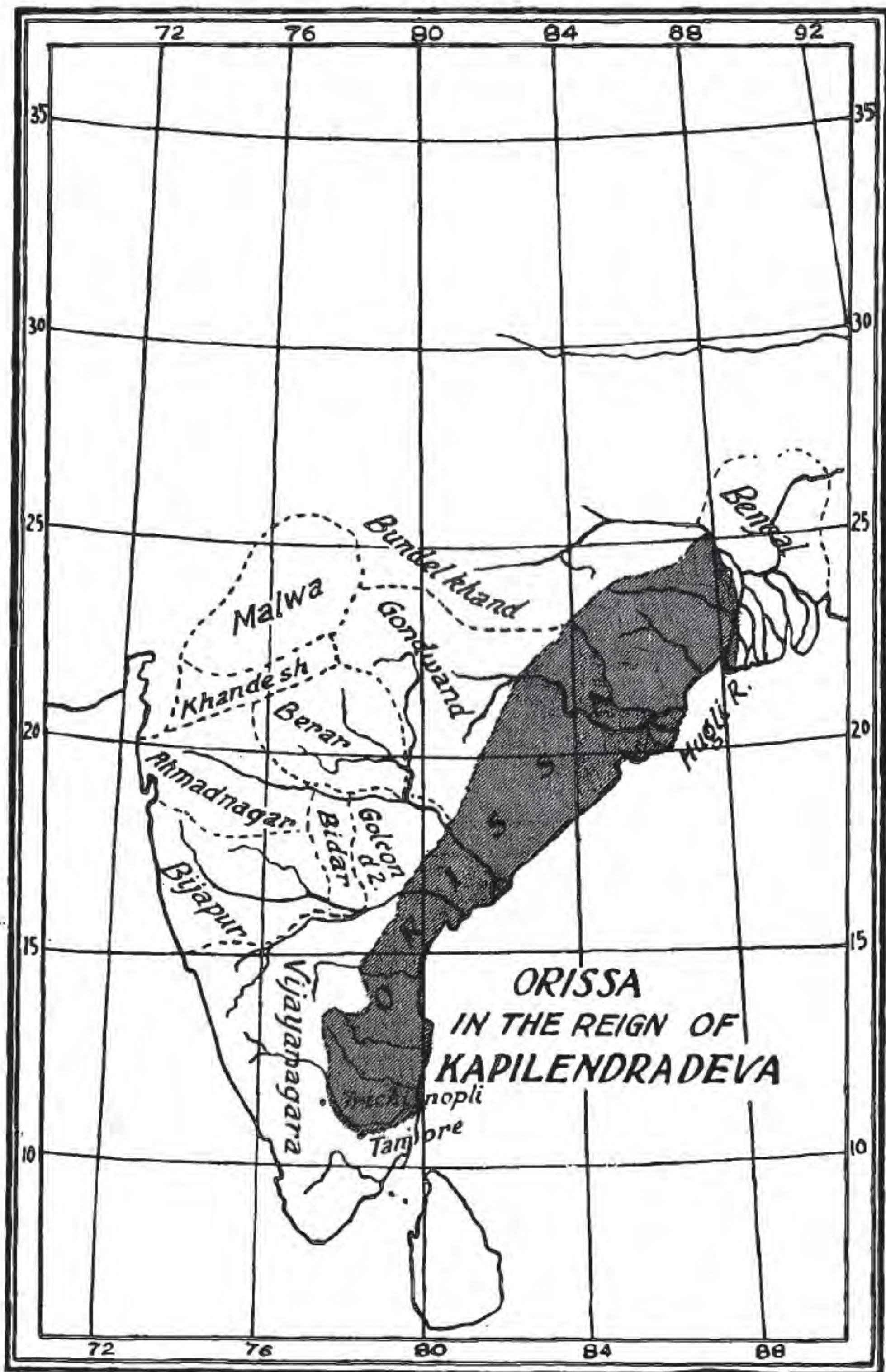
of the same inscription was found on the east and north walls of the deserted temple of Vishṇu in the same village. The first record is to be seen on the east wall of the central shrine in the Āḍavalleśvara temple.[1] Gaṅgādhara's statement can, therefore, be rejected completely. The Muṇṇur inscriptions prove that even in 1464 Kapilendra was in possession of almost the eṇtire eastern sea-board of the Vijayanagara empire. In his chapter of the Vijayanagara history Professor S. K. Ayyangar has once more repeated his previous statement and ignored the more reliable centemporary record.[2] Even that learned South Indian Epigraphist, the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, was compelled to admit that, "it establishes also that the earlier conquest by Gajapati was not a passing inroad only but almost an occupation of the southern country right upto Tiruvarur in the Tanjore district and Trichinopoly.[3] Inscription No. 1 of 1905 clearly indicates that Kapilendra's conquest of the South Arcot and Tanjore districts took place about 10 years before 1471, *i. e.*, sometime before 1461. These three records prove that the emperor Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara, instead of succeeding in driving out Kapilendra, was so far humiliated as to consent tacitly to the cession of the eastern districts of the Vijayanagara Empire to Gajapati Kapilendradeva of Orissa. As Mallikārjuna ruled till 1467,[4] no other construction can be put on the evidence of the inscriptions of Kapilendra

1 *Ibid., for the year 1918-19, pp. 51, 56 ; Nos. 51, 92,*

2 *Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. p, 493.*

3 *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle for 1919, p. 106.*

4 *Cambridge History of India. Vol. III. p. 493.*



Orissa in the reign of Kapilendra Deva

discovered in the South Arcot district. These districts were never recovered by the emperors of the Yādava or Vodeyar dynasty. After Kapilendra's death, when the empire became divided, Sāḷuva-Narasiṁha succeeded in reconquering the country as far as the mouth of the Godāvarī.

The Bahmanī Sulṭān Humāyūn Shāh died in 1461 and both *Firishta* and the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* agree in stating that the king of Orissa invaded the Bahmanī empire and almost reached the gates of the capital Bidar. The details of the campaign are not given and perhaps this is the only instance in which the Indian Musalman historian was compelled to admit the defeat of a king of his own community. From the tone of *Firishta* it appears certain that the Bahmanī army, unable to cope with Kapilendra in the open field, had to take refuge within the strong walls of the citadel. In this connection the learned editor of the third volume of the Cambridge History of India, failing to recognise the fact that Orissa from Medinipur to Trichinopoly was under one rule, states that the Rajah of Southern Orissā was compelled to pay half a million of silver *Tangas* in order to secure his retreat from molestation.[1] Sir T. W. Haig apparently wrote unconscious of the existence of the South Arcot inscription and, therefore, his statements are not worthy of credit like those of Professor S. K. Ayyangar. The only established fact is, that Kapilendra, allied with the Kākatīya chief of Varaṅgal, advanced within a short distance of the capital. Most probably the Hindu army had to be purchased off. The statement of the payment of twenty lakhs of *Tangas* as ransom for Kapilendra's army is untrustworthy. After

[1] *Cambridge History of India. Vol. III. p. 412.*

the battle of Devārkoṇḍā, Kapilendra had succceded in stopping Musalman raids into the Hindu kingdoms on the east of the Bahmanī empire. Immediately after the death of Humāyun Shāh Bahmanī, he had made himself conspicuous by delivering a well-chosen blow at the trunk of Musalman power in the Deccan by invading the metropolitan district of Bidar. In the Muṇṇur inscription it is stated that Kapileśvara 'Kumāra-Mahāpātra' was formerly the *Parīksha* (governor) of Koṇḍaviḍu, but at the time of the incision of the record he was the *Parīksha* of Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalle, Aḍḍaṅki, Vinukoṇḍā, Paḍaīviḍu, Vāluḍilampaṭṭu-Usadabi, Tiruvarur, Tiruchchilapalle (Trichinipoly) and Chandragiri. Among these places the Muṇṇur inscriptions mention Koṇḍaviḍu and Vinukoṇḍā as *Daṇḍapātas* or seats of Oṛiyā governors. As both Penukoṇḍā and Chandragiri were in the occupation of Kapileśvara, it seems more probable that this Vinukoṇḍa is meant to be the southern Penukoṇḍā and not Vinukoṇḍā in the Telugu country. This would give us two distinct Viceroyalities for the country along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal : Koṇḍaviḍu to the south of the Kṛshṇā in the Kṛshṇā district, and Penukoṇḍā in the interior, to the south west of Koṇḍaviḍu in the Anantapur district of the Madras Presidency.

In the Śaka year 1376=Friday 12th April 1434 A. D., one Gāṇadeva, with the titles of *Mahāpātra* and *Rautarāya* was the Viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu. In an inscription discovered on a Hanuman pillar, set up near the new temple at Chintapāllipāḍu in the Guntur *tāluqa* in the Guntur district, an inscription of this Gāṇadeva mentions the temple of Rāghaveśvara and the towns of Aḍḍaṅki, Vinukoṇḍā and

Koṇḍaviḍu.[1] Gāṇadeva is better known to us from a land grant discovered in the Kṛshṇā district. In the inscription on these plates Kapilendra Gajapati is surnamed Kumbhīrāja and stated to have belonged to the Surya-vaṁśa. He was a worshipper of Jagannātha on the seacoast and his capital was at Kaṭaka on the Mahānadī. Under him the *Rāutarāya* was Viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu. Gāṇadeva was a relative of the king. His father was Guhideva and his grandfather Chandradeva. Gāṇadeva is styled *Rāutarāya,* a title now applied to the third son of Royalty in Orissa, the eldest being called *Tikāyat* and the second *Chhoṭarāya.*[2] The charter records the grant of the village of Chavali in the Repalle *tāluqa* of the Kṛshṇā district on the occasion of a lunar eclipse to a number of Brāhamaṇas, belonging to different *gotras* but of the Yajur-veda, in the month of Bhādrapada of the Śaka year 1377=3rd September 1477. A. D.[3] The inscription on the Kṛshna plates prove that in the 15th century a distant relation of king could also be styled *Rāutarāya.* Verse 9 of this record states that Gāṇadeva defeated two Turushka kings. One of these no doubt is the Bahmanī Sulṭān'Alāuddin Ahmad Shāh II, but the second Musalman king cannot be identified at present, unless we take it for granted that Gāṇadeva served under Kapilendra in his wars against the Sulṭāns of Bengal. He was the contem-

1 *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaelogical Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1917, p. 77 No. 70, 97, 133.*

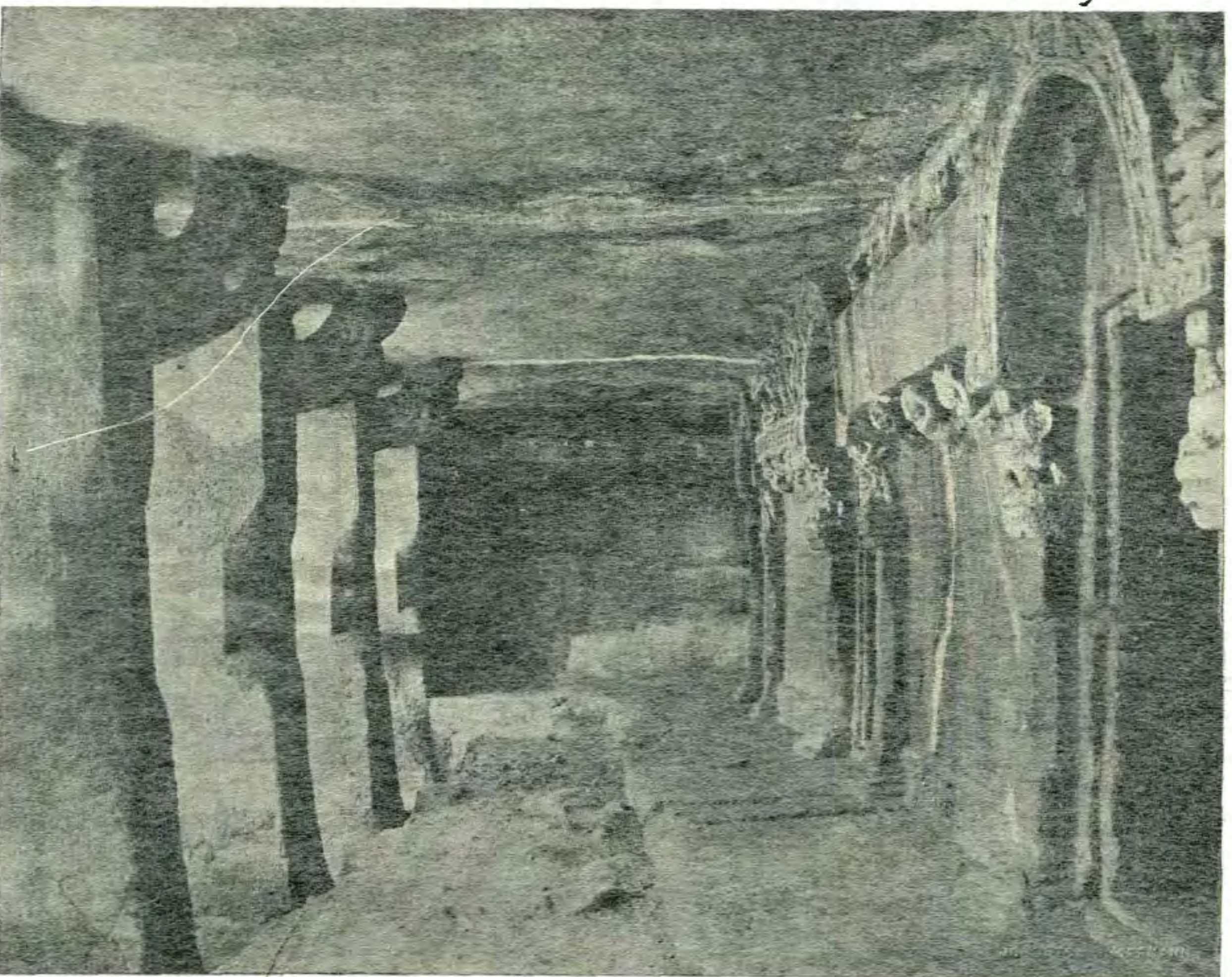
2 *Twenty-five questions addressed to the Rajahs and Chiefs of the Regulation and Tributary Mahals by the Superintendent in 1814, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, reprinted, 1905, p. 5.*

3 *Ind. Ant. Vol. XX, 1891, pp. 390-93.*

porary of Shamsuddīn Aḥmad Shāh, the grandson of the Hindu Rājah Gaṇeśa of Gaur and Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmud Shāh II of the Second Iliyās-Shāhī dynasty of Bengal before the date of the Kṛshṇā plates. The sixth known inscription of Kapilendra was discovered on the eastern gate of a temple of Jagannātha at Gopinathpur, a village 13 miles south-east of Katak. This temple of Jagannātha was built by Gopīnātha *Mahāpātra* of the Hārīta *gotra*, the younger son of Lakshmaṇa *Mahāpātra*, who was the priest of Kapilendra. Gopīnātha's elder brother, Nārāyaṇa, was also a minister (*mantrī*) of the same king. Lakshmaṇa, the father of Gopinātha, is also mentioned in another inscription discovered at Bhuvaneśvara.[1] In this record Kapilendra is mentioned as being born of the Solar race. He is called the conqueror of the lion of Karṇāṭa, the conqueror of Gulbarga, the destroyer of Mālava and Delhi, and one who crushed Bengal (*Gauḍa*). By Karṇāta the poet refers to the now well-known conquest of Kapilendra in the eastern districts of the empire of Vijayanagara. The reference to Kalavarga or Gulvarga is to the wars against the Bahmanīs of Bidar, whose ancient capital was Gulbarga. The reference to the Sulṭāns of Mālwā and Delhi cannot be understood. Kapilendra was the contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāuddin'Alam Shāh of the Saiyad dynasty, Bahlol Lodī of the Lodī dynasty of Deḷhi, of Sulṭāns Alāuddīn Aḥmad II, Humāyūn, Niẓām and Muḥammad III Bahmanī, of Aḥmad I, Muḥammed I, Qutbuddīn, Dāūd and Maḥmud I Bigarah of Gujarat and Maḥmud I and Ghiyāṣuddīn Khaljī of Mālwā.

Of the records of Kapilendra discovered in Orissa

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Vol. LXII, 1893; pp. 91-92*



View of the corridor—Ganeshgumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

proper some were found on the right hand side of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. These records have now been hidden by plaster. A record on the left side was incised in the fourth *Aṅka*, *i. e.*, 3rd year=9th December 1436 (old style). The record informs us that while at camp Purushottama or Puri he came to worship the god Jagannātha and ordered an exemption of the tax on salt and cowrie shells in the presence of *Mahāpātras* Kakāi Sāntarā, Jalāsara Sena Narendra, Gopīnātha Maṅgarāja, Kasī Vidyādhara, Belaśvara Praharāja, Lakhaṇa Paṇḍita and the general Dāmodara *Paṭṭanāyaka*. The order of exemption was written by *Pātra* Agniśarman, the examiner of *Bhogas*. The second record was incised at the same place in the 41st *Aṇka*=14th December 1466 (o. s.) and records that on that date Kapilendra came to worship Jagannātha and gave a number of utensils and ornaments. A supply of gold was brought by a number of officers and placed with other offerings in the audience hall. Mr. Chakravarti noted in 1893 that many of the ornaments given to the god Jagannātha in 1466 are still in use. The third record of Kapilendra in the temple of Jagannātha was incised two years earlier in the 35th *Aṇka* 25th=April 1464. It records a pious wish on the part of the king and cannot be fully understood on account of damage. Mr. Chakravarti informs us in a note that the zamindars of Kuṇḍajori rebelled in the 35th *Aṅka* according to the *Mādalā Pāñji* and was helped by many of Kapilendra's officers. The last record of Kapilendra at Puri is the second in point of date, having been incised on the 19th *Anka*=Sunday 12th April 1450 (o. s). It records an order for the performances of dances

at the time of *Bhoga* from the end of evening *Dhūpa* up to the time of *Baṛasingār* (bed time). It refers to a number of dancers from Telingana and that besides dancing, four Vaishṇava singers will sing Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda*. A record on the right side was incised on the 19th *Āṅka* and records that Kapilendra having conquered "the side of Mallikā Pārisā," meaning perhaps the Sulṭān of Gaur or Mālik Padshāh, on his return, gave to Jagannātha one *sāṛī* known as Puṇḍarīkagopa. Another inscription below this one was incised in the 31st *Āṅka*=12th July 1459 (o. s.) and records that the king held court in the audience hall of the southern block of rooms and registered a vow to bestow all precious things possessed by the king on Brāhmaṇas.[1] The particular gateway of the *Jagamohana*, on the sides of which these records were to be found up to 1910, is called Jaya-Vijaya. Only one inscription of Kapilendra has been discovered in the outer door of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Kṛittivāsa or Liṅgāraja at Bhuvaneśvara. It records an order passed on the 9th *Āṅka*=7th year and addressed by king Kapilendra to his feudatories in the presence of the Royal spiritual preceptors Bāsu *Mahāpātra* and Bhuvaneśvara *Mahāpātra*. It runs thus. "All kings in my kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the paramount sovereign and should keep to virtuous ways and not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards their sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property confiscated."[2] The Jagannātha inscription of the 35th *Āṅka* and the Bhuvaneś-

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I pp. 92-100.*

[2] *Ibid., pp. 103-4.*

vara inscription of the 4th *Aṅka* are by nature proclamations to the people. No other stone inscription in Orissa is of the same purport. These inscriptions give a number of titles to Kapilendra which are new in Orissa, namely, *Gajapati*, *Gauḍeśvara*, and *Nava-koṭi-Karṇāta-Kalavarageśvara*. The title *Gajapati* has been used to denote kings of Orissa for a very long time but no other Hindu king of Orissa, not even Narasiṁha I who had beseiged the city of Gauḍa, had dared to assume the title Gauḍeśvara. It may refer to the conquest of a part of Bengal by Kapilendra and perhaps the reference to *Mālikā Pārisā*, whose conquest is recorded in the Jagannātha inscription of the 19th *Anka*, is to some officer of the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal. After the fall of Shamsuddīn Aḥmad Shāh, the grandson of Rajah Gaṇeśa of Gauḍa, the Musalmans of Bengal under the leadership of Sulṭān Nāṣirudīn Maḥmud Shāh of Bengal reconquered south-western Bengal. The campaign against *Mālikā Pārisā* took place before the 19th *Anka* of Kapilendra, the 15th year of his reign=1449-50 A. D., and therefore fell within the reign of that Sulṭān (1442-59 A. D.) Kapilendra certainly possessed the right to call himself the master of ninety millions of people of Karṇāta, as he had conquered the eastern coast as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly. But it is doubtful whether he had ever captured or invaded Gulbarga, the ancient capital of the Bahmanīs. But there is nothing improbable in it for a king who had approached within twenty miles of the new capital, Bidar. Kapilendra died, according to local tradition as recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji* on the banks of the river Kṛshṇā

on *Pausha Kṛshṇa*, 3, Tuesday, a date which cannot be verified. The traditional date of the death of Kapilendra as recorded by Stirling[1] and second-rate compilers like W. W. Hunter are incorrect. As the 2nd *Āṅka* of his son and successor Purushottama fell in April 1470, Kapilendra must have died before that date. His latest known date is his 41st *Āṅka* or 33rd year=Sunday 14th December 1466 A.D. The calculations of late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti[2] are corroborated by the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* which states :

"In this year the Queen-Mother, Makhdūmāh Jahān, died, and in A. H. 875 (A. D., 1470) the Sulṭān assumed the reins of government.

"In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Telingana and informed the Sulṭān that the Raya of Orissa, who was the principal *raya* of Telingana, was dead."[3]

Mr. Chakravarti states that Kapilendra ascended the throne with the help of the Bahmanī Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh I on the authority of the *Mādalā Pāñji*, but Stirling states that he was adopted by the last Gaṅga king Bhānudeva IV, who was childless.[4] Whatever be the truth, there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Kapilendra or Kapileś-vara, the founder of the Sūryā Vaṁśa dynasty, was a man of very exceptional abilities. He assumed the crown and succeeded in maintaining his position in the midst of

1 *Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p, 279.*

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, 1900, part I, p, 182.*

3 *Ind., Ant., Vol, XXVIII, p. 285.*

4 *Asiatic Researches, Vol., XV, pp. 275-76.*

strong opposition, a distinct hint about which is recorded in the Jagannātha temple inscription of the 31st *Aṅka*=12th July 1459 A.D. After fighting long wars with the Bahmanīs of Bidar and Voḍeyars of Vijayanagara, he was faced with powerful rebels in his own country in his 35th *Aṅka* or 1464 A. D. Inspite of these troubles he succeeded in conquering the entire eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal from Hughly in Bengal to Trichinopoly in Madras. According to the Gopīnathpur inscription, he possessed Udayagiri, the seat of a Vijaynagara Viceroyalty, in the Nellore district of Madras and Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district. This vast empire broke up shortly after his death, partly on account of the rise of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha in Vijayanagara and, if Musalman historians are to be believed, partly on account of a war of succession in Orissa. To Kapilendra ought to be ascribed the issue of the Gajapati Pagoda, with the fine arabesque on the reverse.[1]

1 *V. A. Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. XXX, I, p. 318, No. 18.*

CHAPTER XX

THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA—PURUSHOTTAMA (1470-97)

The removal of the strong hand of Kapilendra Gajapati was followed by uprisings throughout Orissa. *Firishta's* account of the Orissan wars of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns bears on it the stamp of untruth. That author states that two sons of Kapilendra, named Maṅgal Rāi and Ambar Rāi, were rival claimants for the throne and the latter sought the alliance of the Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad III, who had succeeded his brother Niẓām Shah on the 30th July 1463.A.D. Therefore, at the time of Kapilendra's death Muḥammad's age could not have been more than eighteen, as at the time of his accession he was not more than ten. He was perhaps yet too young to take any real interest in the disputed succession of a powerful neighbouring State. The more blunt *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* enables us to tear the veil of camouflage of the polished diction of *Firishta*. The *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* says that, as soon as the news of Kapilendra's death was received at Bidar, Sulṭān Muḥammad III rejoiced openly and determined to conquer Kapilendra's dominions. A council of war was held and Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Baḥrī, the renegade Hindu and the worst traitor among Bahmanī officers, volunteered to undertake the campaign against Orissa and was invested by the Sulṭān with a robe of honour.[1] The Bahmanīs of Bidar had not dared to raise their heads after their crushing defeat at the battle of Pevārkoṇḍā and they were now

[1] *Ind., Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 285.*

eager to wipe out the disgrace of repeated reverses at the hands of the Hindus. They considered the death of Kapilendra an opportune moment for the destruction of the Hindu empire. There is not a single line in the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* about the disputed succession to the throne of Orissa. Therefore, the straightforward statement of the intentions of the Bahmanī officers and the Sulṭān Muḥammad III is much more reliable than the garnished account of *Firishta.* Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī defeated the Orissan army somewhere in the northern Telegu country and advanced upon Rājamahendrī. *Firishta* agrees with the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* in stating that Niẓām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrī commanded the campaign in Orissa, but states in addition that in A. D. 1471=876 A. H., Ambar Rāi, a cousin of the king of Orissa, had appealed for help as the throne had been usurped by a brāhman named Maṅgal Rāi, the adopted son of the late king. Ambar Rāi joined Niẓām-ul-Mulk Ḥasan on the frontiers of Orissa and the latter, after defeating Maṅgal Rāi, placed Ambar on the throne of that country. Then he proceeded to capture Koṇḍapalle[1] and Rājamahendrī. The *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* states that after the capture of Rājamahendrī, Ḥasan marched against Koṇḍavidu and not Koṇḍapalle and captured it with several other forts.[2] That the story of the disputed succession in the empire of Orissa is a myth is proved by an inscription on the left-hand side of the Jayā-Vijayā gate of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, which was incised on the 2nd *Āṅka* of the reign of

1 *Brigg's—Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, Cambray & Co., Calcutta, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 487-88.*

2 *Ind., Ānt., Vol. XXVIII, p. 285.*

Purushottama, *i.e.*, the year of his accession=12th April 1470 A. D.,[1] and as the same Purushottama has been proved to have reigned uninterruptedly up to 1496-97, *Firishta's* statement about Maṅgal Rāi being defeated and replaced by Ambar Rāi by Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī can be rejected without further consideration.

Sāḷuva Narasiṁha may have risen during the the lifetime of Mallikārjuna (1449-67), but he found an opportunity to increase his territories northwards after the demise of Kapilendra in 1470. His ancestral territory lay around Nārāyaṇavanam in the Chittur district of Mysore State and he was hemmed in both on the north and the east by the empire of Orissa. During the Musalman invasion of Telingana, when Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī captured Koṇḍapalle or Koṇḍavidu and Rājamahendrī for Sulṭān Muḥammad III, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha conquered the whole of the eastern coastland as far as the mouth of the Godāvarī. The Tirukoilur[2] inscription of 1470-71 proves that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had either joined hands with the Musalmans of Bidar or invaded the territories of Orissa as soon as the Bahmanī army had interposed a formidable barrier between the capital of Orissa and her provinces in the extreme south. During his war with Orissa Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had under him Naresa Nāyaka, the founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty. Mallikārjuna was succeeded by Virupāksha, who ruled over Vijayanagara till he was deposed by Narasa in 1487. Virupāksha was the contemporary of Purushottama during the earlier years

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII 1893, pp. 91-92.*

[2] *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras for 1906-07; p. 84.*



Portion of the frieze—Corridor of the Ganeshgumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

of his reign. South Indian scholars claim that details of the campaigns of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha are preserved in the *Sāḷuv-ābhyudayam* of Rājanātha Diṇḍima. In the fourth canto of this work it is stated that when Sāḷuva Narasiṁha marched against the king of Kaliṅga, the latter came out at the head of his army, but was defeated and retired to his own city. Later on he was besieged in that city and compelled to surrender. The *Sāḷuv-ābhyudayam* is a standard type-specimen illustrating the historical value of the work of a Court panegyrist. It proves the unreliability of *praśastis* not corroborated by independent extraneous evidence. From 1470 till about 1476 the Musalmans of Bidar were in possession of the Godāvarī delta and had interposed a wedge of territory between the Hindus of Orissa and Vijayanagara and it is therefore absolutely impossible to imagine how Sāḷuva Narasiṁha could have besieged and captured Katak, the capital of the Sūrya-vaṁśīs. According to the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* Sulṭān Muḥammad III Bahmanī found Sāḷuva Narasiṁha strongly posted on the Godāvarī when he came to conduct the campaign against Orissa personally. The evidence of the *Sāḷuv-ābhyudayam* must, therefore, be accepted with great caution.[1]

Purushottama lost more than one half of his ancestral dominions within five or six years of his accession. The loss of the southern provinces of the empire was followed by a reaction. An Oṛiyā officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad III Bahmanī named Bhīmarāja returned to the allegiance of his own king and, capturing Koṇḍapalle in 1474, invited

[1] *Ind., Ant., Vol, XXVIII 1899, p. 288; Ayyangar—Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 90-102.*

Purushottama to come and recover his ancestral dominions in Telingana. Purushottama arrived with ten thousand horse and eight thousand foot and drove out Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī from Rājamahendrī. Sulṭān Muḥammad III Bahmanī was compelled to march in person accompanied by Khwājah-i-Jāhān Maḥmūd Gāwān Gilānī and the heir-apparent prince Maḥmūd. Bhimarāja shut himself up in the fort of Koṇḍapalle and Purushottama re-crossed the Godāvarī. According to *Firishta*, Sulṭān Muḥammad III sent twenty thousand horse in pursuit of Purushottama, ravaged the districts as far as the capital in 1477 and intended to send for Maḥmūd Gāwān in order to occupy the country permanently. Purushottama was compelled to sue for peace, sent repeated embassies and purchased peace by delivering twenty-five elephants belonging to his father. Muḥammad III Bahmanī is said to have retired with these presents.[1] It is necessary to receive these statements of *Firishta* with very great caution. In the first place, if Muḥammad III had really retired from the capital of Orissa after receiving twenty-five elephants, then it has to be admitted that he was compelled to turn tail by a superior force. No victorious Musalman army had ever let off a defeated Hindu king at such a small cost. *Firishta's* story reminds one of the retreat of Seleukos Nikator from India with a present of five hundred elephants from Chandragupta Maurya after ceding four of the fairest provinces of Alexander's empire to the Indian monarch. As soon as he received twenty-five elephants Muḥammad's intention to occupy Orissa permanently vanishes. No indemnity or permanent cession of territory

1 *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, Vol. II, pp. 494-96,*

is demanded and the Mussalman king retires with his so-called victorious army. This story is accepted without any caution by Sir Wolsely Haig, who adds that Muḥammad captured Koṇḍaviḍu, and made Rājamahendrī his head-quarters for three years.[1] Let us now return to the comparatively sober account of the *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* :—

"In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭān was informed that the perfidious Rāya of Orissa, with a large force of foot and horse, had invaded the territories of Islam. Niẓām-ul-mulk Bahrī, who was situated as a barrier between the country of the infidels and the territories of Islam, owing to the numbers of the enemy's force, was unable to cope with them, hastened towards Wazīrābād. The Sulṭān ordered his army to be assembled in all haste at the town of Malikpur, near Āshṭūr, on the bank of a tank, which was one of the innovations of Mālik Ḥasan Niẓām-ul-mulk Bahrī. According to orders, they flocked there from all parts, and in a short time an immense force was assembled, and the Sulṭān marching with them in the time arrived near the fortress of Rajamundri (Rājamahendrī). From that innumerable force the Sulṭān picked out 20,000 men with two horses each, and leaving the minister Khwājah Jahān in the royal camp in attendance on the prince (Maḥmūd Khan) he himself with the picked troops proceeded to Rajamundri...When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress, they saw an immense city, on the further side of which the infidel Narasiṁha Rāya with 7,00,000 accursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he had dug

1 *Cambridge History of India Vol. III, pp. 415-18.*

a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all apparatus of war. Yet notwithstanding all these army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narasiṁha Rāya heard of the arrival of the Sulṭān's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight.

"When the Sulṭān became aware of the flight of the enemy, he appointed Malik Fathullah Daryā Khān with several other *'āmīrs* of his conquering army to go in pursuit and in slaughtering and plundering to strive their utmost. Daryā Khān accordingly, with his division, pursued the infidels as far as the fortress of Rājamundri, and laid siege to it. The Sulṭān also followed him with all speed and raised his victorious standards at the foot of the fortress... Orders were given to the army to surround the fortress, and with cannons, guns, arrows and all the engines of war to reduce the besieged to extremities and deny them the necessaries of life.

"It had nearly arrived at that stage that the face of victory was reflected in the mirrors of the desires of the royal troops, when suddenly the commander of the fortress cried for quarter. The Sulṭān in his exceeding mercy and kindness took pity on these unfortunate people, pardoned their offences and gave them a written promise of quarter. The governor of the fortress riding on an elephant of gigantic size went to pay his respects to the Sulṭān. He made his obeisance and was enrolled among the Turkī, Tilangī and Habshī slaves.

"The Sulṭān with some of the nobles and great men went out on the summit of the fortress, and signified his

wish that the rites of the faith of Islam should be introduced into that abode of infidelity. He appointed to the charge of the fortress the same person to whom it had been formerly assigned.[1]

A comparison of these two accounts shows certain facts to be common which can, therefore, be regarded as accurate :

(1) That a few years after his accession Purushottama drove out the Musalman intruders from the lower Godāvarī delta.

(II) That the Sulṭān Muḥammad III Bahmanī had to undertake the campaign personally, as Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī had been defeated.

(III) That Rājamahendrī was besieged and capitulated.

The account of *Firishta* differs a good deal from that given in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, the most important differences being the mention of a traitor named Bhīmarāja Oṛiyā and the substitution of Koṇḍapalle for Koṇḍaviḍu. The *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* is also silent about the capture of Katak, the capital of Purushottama by Muḥammad III. On the other hand, *Firishta* does not mention anything about the presence of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha in the neighbourhood of Rājamahendrī. The presence of the Sāḷuva chief on the bank of the river Godāvarī may be interpreted in different ways. In the first place, he may have allied himself with Purushottama against the common enemy of all Hindus, the Musalmans of the Deccan. In the second place, he may have made an independent attack on the then southern frontier of the empire of Orissa. The third interpretation is more probable. The Bahmanī Sulṭān and

1 *Ind., Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 288.*

the Gajapati king of Orissa were both his enemies and Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, like a prudent general, was prepared on frontiers for an invasion from both of them. He was right, as immediately after the close of the campaign against Rājamahendrī Muḥammad III Bahmanī invaded the Vijayanagara empire. The people of Koṇḍaviḍu had broken out in open rebellion against the Musalmans in A. H. 885=1480 A. D., and thrown themselves on the protection of the Sāḷuva chief. So Muḥammad III was compelled to march against Koṇḍaviḍu in November of that year. Therefore, in 1480 Koṇḍaviḍu was included in the empire of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanī campaign of that year was in northern Telingana and not in the Tamil country. The war of 1474-77 was for the recovery of Musalman possessions in the delta of the Godāvarī and that of 1480 against the Vijayanagara empire in the delta of the Kṛishṇā. For the time being, Purushottama had to give up all hopes of recovering the southern provinces of his father's empire. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha had become the *de facto* king of the Eastern Coast of the Bay of Bengal, though the emperor Virūpāksha II was still living and ruling in 1487.[1] But the north-eastern provinces of Vijayanagara empire had passed out of his control. It was mainly in his own interest that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was present on the south bank of the Godāvarī in the war of 1474-77. This campaign ended in the total loss of the Godāvarī-Kṛshṇā *doāb* to the empire of Orissa and that of 1480 drove Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to the south of the Kṛshṇā.

The scene on the political stage now changes swiftly.

[1] *Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 494.*

The murder of the great Musalman general and statesman Khwājah-i-Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān Gilānī on the 5th April 1481 caused a complete paralysis of Musalman activities in the Deccan for nearly a quarter of a century. His murder was followed by the death of the last real Bahmanī Sulṭān, Muḥammad III, on the 26th March 1482, who was succeeded by the weak and imbecile Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī. The real cause of the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān was the attribution of treachery to him by his enemies of the Deccanī party at the Court of Bidar. Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī forged a letter supposed to have been written by Maḥmūd Gāwān to Purushottamadeva, in which it was stated that he was tired of the tyranny and ill-treatment of Muhammed III and was ready to join the Hindu army. If *Firishta's* account be correct then Purushottama, shorn of the greater part of his empire was still regarded as formidable by the Musalmans of the Deccan. We do not know what happened to the Kṛshṇā-Godāvarī *doāb* after the death of Muhammad III. At that time, according to *Firishta*, Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī had been permitted to appoint his son Mālik Aḥmad to be his deputy at Rājamahendrī, as his own presence was considered necessary at Court. The old actors now retire from the political arena on the eastern coast. Niẓam-ul-mulk Ḥasan Bahrī is murdered and his son Niẓm-ul-mulk Ahmad retires to the south-west to carve out an independent kingdom for himself in the Mahārāshṭra. Sulṭān Mahmūd Bahmanī had to undertake a campaign in Telingana immediately after his accession and before the murder of Niẓām-ul-mulk Ḥasan. The silence of the *Burhān-i-Ma' aṣir* about the result of this campaign is a

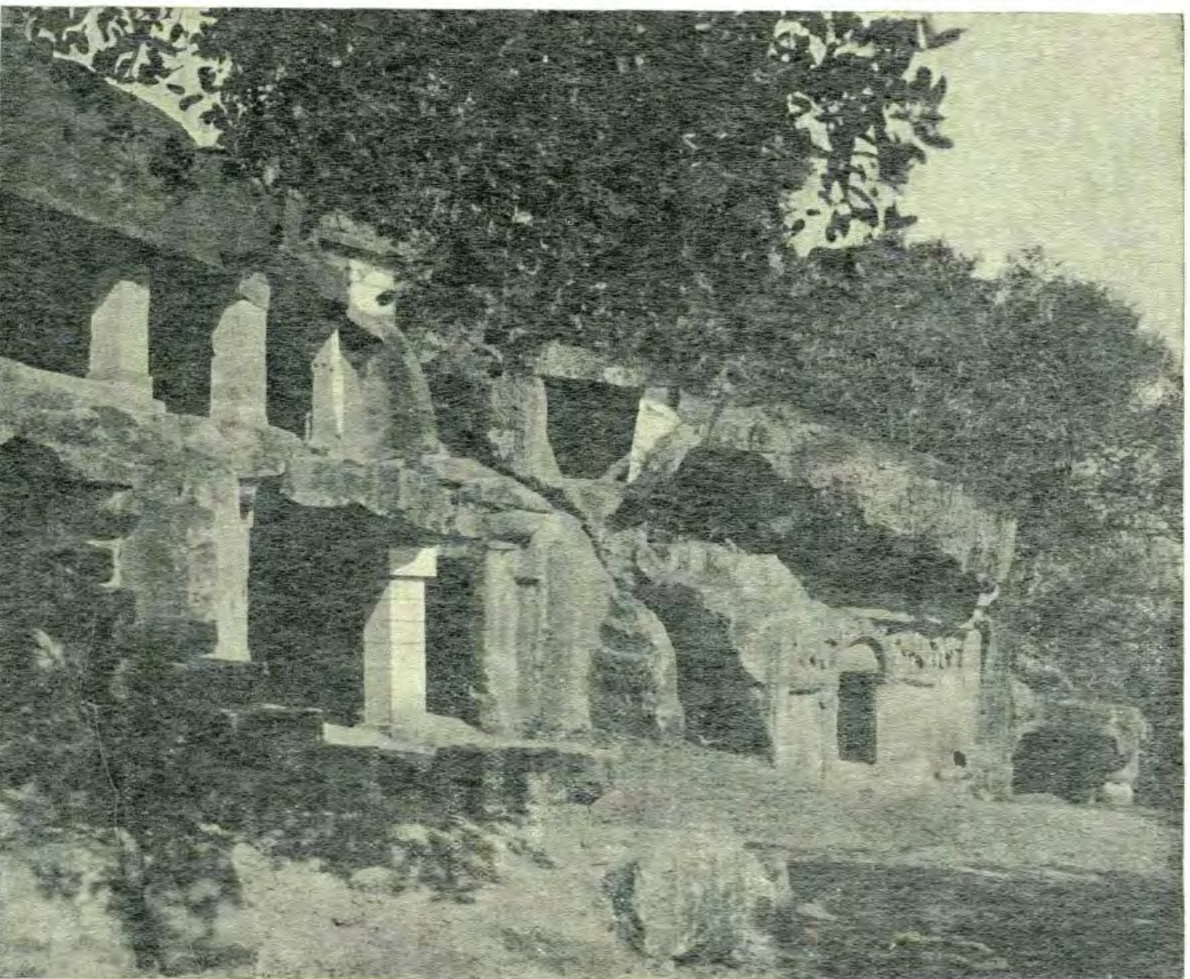
damning proof of its failure. Hindu records prove that, within six years of the death of Muhammad III Bahmanī, Purushottama had overrun the whole of the Godāvarī-Kṛshṇā *doāb* and driven out the Musalmans from their coveted post of Koṇḍaviḍu. The reconquest of the Godāvarī-Kṛshṇā *doāb* and Guntur district is proved by two inscriptions, one of which was discovered at Koṇḍaviḍu[1] and the other at some unknown place in Telingana, which was published for the first time in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras in 1827.[2]

The last king of the Voḍeyar or Yādava dynasty had been deposed and murdered in 1487 and the usurpation of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was complete. Yet Purushottama of Orissa was steadily progressing in the re-conquest of his father's dominions in Southern India. There are reasons to suppose that towards the end of his reign Purushottama became sufficiently strong to attack the kingdom of Vijayanagara as far as the capital itself. The southernmost inscription of Purushottama was discovered on the road from Koṇḍapalle to Kavuluru in the Bezwada *taluqa* of the Kṛishṇā district. The date of this inscription has not been read completely and therefore it is difficult to say at what time the Bahmanīs were expelled from the Godāvarī-Kṛshṇā *doāb* and the armies of Vijayanagara pushed back further south.[3] The Potavaram grant of Purushottama is dated Śaka 1412, *i. e.*, Saturday 1489.

1 *Sewell—A Sketch of South-Indian dynasties, p. 48; Chakravarti, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900, Vol. LXIX, p. 185.*

2 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 155-58.*

3 *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year ending with 31st March, 1914, v. 18, No. 156.*



Chhota Hathigumpha and other caves near it—Udaygiri, Puri District

It proves that towards the close of his reign Purushottama was in undisputed possession of the whole of the Godāvarī-Kṛshṇā *doāb* and the whole country as far as Bezwada to the south of the delta of the Kṛshṇā. The village granted in 1489, Potavaram, still exists in the Ongole *taluqa* of the Guntur district. The object of the charter was the gift of the village of Potavaram to the *Liṅgodbhava Mahādeva* of Chadaluvāḍa on the bank of the river Brahmaguṇḍi for the purpose of personal enjoyment, stage-entertainments, and other splendours of the god.[1]

As noticed by Chakravarti, the conquest of Vijayanagara by Purushottama is recorded in the Bengali poem *Śri-Chaitanya-Charitāmṛta* by the Vaishṇava saint Kṛshnadāsa Kavirāja. This poem mentions that Purushottama conquered Vijayanagara and brought an idol named Sākshī-gopāla and a jewelled throne from that country.[2] This throne was presented to the Lord Jagannātha at Puri and appears to be the same as the stone altar on which the wooden images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā stand at present. Those who have examined this Ratnavedī at close quarters inside the *Vimāna* of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri will be able to recognise the bizarre arabesque of the decadent Hoyśaḷa type, which one sees in the temple of Hazāra-Rāmasvāmī at Hampe or Vijayanagara, on it. It appears to me that a part, at any rate, of this jewelled throne consisted of a carved stone altar which also was presented along with the metal portion to the Lord Jagannātha. There are no reasons to disbelieve the statements of Gosvāmī Kṛishṇadāsa Kavirāja, as he

1 *Epi. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 157-58*

2 *Ibid., Madhya Līlā, Bangavāsī Edition, p. 98.*

wrote in distant Vṛindāvana long after the fall of the Gajapatis of the Surya Vaṁśa dynasty and was no court sycophant. While the *Kāñji-Kāverī-Pothi* is a mere romance of the type of the *Gangādāsa-Pratāpa-Vilasam* the *Chaitanya-Charitāmrita* is a reliable biography of Chaitanya with which panegyrics of the type of the *Sāḷuv-ābhyudayam* would not even bear comparison.

In the beginning of his reign Purushottama lost the southern half of his dominions from the Godāvarī downwards, the country to the south of the Kṛishṇā being captured by Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇa *doāb* by the Bahmanīs. Towards the end of his reign he had expelled the Musalmans from the *doāb* and regained a portion of the Andhra country, as far as the modern district of Guntur. Whether any of the Tamil districts of the empire of Kapilendra was recovered by Purushottama is a matter of conjecture. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and Narasa Nāyaka were very hard pressed to stop "the Oḍḍiyān", as they styled the Gajapati king of Orissa. The throne passed on peacefully to Purushottama's son Pratāparudra some time in 1496-97, as the latest date of Purushottama is to be found on the northern face of the 41st pillar of the temple of Śrīkurmam ; Śaka 1417, the Jovian year *Rākshasa* the 33rd *Āṅka*,=31st October 1495 A. D. As his 2nd *Āṅka* or first year fell in 1470, his accession took place immediately after the death of his father Kapilendra. Like his father, Purushottama is also known from a number of inscriptions discovered in Orissa proper. The records on the left hand side of the Jayā-Vijayā gate of Jagannātha contained two. The earliest is an order dated the 2nd *Āṅka*=12th April 1470, A.D. Thursday, recording the gift of

the village of Madhotila in the district of Antarodha, certain weights of paddy, two thousand *kāhans* of *cowries* and two other villages named Kamalapura and Gopapura in the Banchas district of the Dakshiṇadik *Daṇḍapāṭa* for the *Bhoga* of the gods and goddesses. The next order was issued in the 3rd *Āṅka*=20th November 1470 (O. S.) and records the remittance of the *Chaukīdārī* tax on brāhmaṇas in the South.[1] The 3rd record of Purushottama in the temple of Jagannātha is the fourth on the right side of the same gateway. It was issued in the 19th *Āṅka*=18th August 1485 and records an injunction to the future kings of Orissa not to interfere with grants made to brāhmaṇas.[2] The temple of Śrikurmam contains a number of inscriptions from which the regnal years of the king may be thoroughly verified :

(I) 3rd *Āṅka*, Śaka 1392=Tuesday 25th September 1470. A. D.

(II) Śaka 1393, the Jovian year *Khara*=Sunday 31st March 1471. A. D.

(III) 4th *Āṅka*, Śaka 1393, the year *Khara*=20th June 1472. A. D.

(IV) 25th *Āṅka*=Thursday 27th May 1490 A. D.

(V) Śaka 1417, the Jovian year Rākshasa, 33rd *Āṅka*= Saturday 31st October 1495.[3] A. D.

The chronology of Purushottama's reign was so very little known that writing in 1919 the late Tarini Charan Rath said : "It is rather difficult to fix with precision the

1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, 1893, part I, pp. 90-92*

2 *Ibid., pp. 100-1.*

3 *Ibid., Vol. LXIX, 1900, part I, pp. 182-83.*

date of this Kāñchī-Kāverī expedition of king Purushottama-deva and find out the name of his contemporary king of Karṇāṭa, with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmāvatī he married.[1] Purushottama's contemporaries in Karṇāṭa were Virupāksha II, Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, Narasa Nāyaka and Immāḍi Narasiṁha. Professor S. K. Ayyangar now admits that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha failed to capture Udayagiri *rājya* from the Gajapati king.[2] If the *Mādalā Pāñji* is to be believed, then Purushottama erected the *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* or the hall of refection, being in fact the third *maṇḍapa* in the temple of Jagannātha. Following this custom three separate *maṇḍapas* have been erected in front of all important temples in Orissa. The temple of Jagannātha at Puri, that of his consort Lakshmi, the temples of Kṛittivāsa and Ananta-Vasudeva at Bhuvaneś-vara, and that of the former's consort Pārvatī at the same place consist of one sanctum (*vimāna*) and three separate *maṇḍapas* (*Jagamohana, Nāṭyamandira* and the *Bhoga maṇḍapa*). In another line Purushottama introduced an innovation. Up to the time of Narasiṁha IV and Kapilendra, charters in Orissa were issued after being written on plates of copper. We can trace this system from the time of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A. D.) up to that of Rāmachandra II of Khurdah (1731-43 A.D.) The usual form of these copper plates is rectangular. Purushottama issued his grant on a piece of copper, shaped like an axe, which was most probably a real pre-historic copper axe. While the material may have been got by accident, the real

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, 1919, p. 149.*

[2] *Cambridge History of India Vol, III, p. 494.*

innovation introduced by Purushottama was the final rejection of the proto-Bengali script in favour of the cursive Oriya. All subsequent grants issued in Orissa show the use of the Oriya script. The Balasore grant written on the copper axe was issued on the 5th *Āṅka* 7th April 1483.A. D.[1]

Little else is known of the second great emperor of Orissa. According to Oriya tradition as recorded by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, Purushottama is said to have been the youngest son of Kapilendra and to have married Padmāvatī or Rupāṁbikā, the daughter of king of Karṇāṭa (? Sāḷuva Narasiṁha). According to the introduction of the *Sarasvatī-vilāsam* by his son and successor Pratāparudra, the name of the Karnāt princess was Rupāmbikā.[2] The condition of the Musalman kingdoms of Northern India favoured the expansion of Orissa. Purushottama's contemporaries in Bengal were Shamsuddin Yūsuf Shāh (1474-81 A.D.), Jalāluddīn Fath Shāh (1481-86 A.D.), Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd III (1489 A.D.), Saifuddīn Firoz Shāh (1486-89 A.D.), Shamsuddīn Muẓaffar Shāh (1490-93 A.D.),[3] and 'Alāuddīn Ḥusain Shāh (1493-1518 A.D.). The Sulṭāns of Delhi were too remote to affect the empire of Orissa and the Sulṭānate of Jaunpur was fast approaching extinction at the time of his accession. Inspite of his earlier reverses Purushottama practically recovered almost the whole of his ancestral dominions and left it to his son Pratāparudra.

1 *Ind., Ant., Vol. I, pp. 355-56; Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV, pp. 361-63; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183.*

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, pp. 147-48.*

3 *Cambridge History of India, Vol, III, p. 696,*

The only other known inscription of Purushottama was discovered on a slab set up in a field to the north of the road from Kavuluru to Koṇḍapalle on which the date is extremely doubtful. According to the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, Purushottama is styled *Paharā Hamvīra* in this inscription. It mentions a *Mahāpātra*, named Mogalarāju who was governing the country at that time.[1]

[1] *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for 1914, p. 18, No. 156, 105, para 42.*

CHAPTER XXI

THE DECLINE OF ORISSA—PRATĀPARUDRA (1497-1541)

The decline in the power of Orissa and the break up of its empire, practically begins with the accession of Pratāparudra. At the time of his accession, Pratāparudra ruled over an empire extending from the .Hughly and the Medinipur districts of Bengal to the Guntur district of Madras. A large portion of the highlands of Telingana, such as Khammamet, also belonged to him according to his conqueror Kṛshṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. The date of his accession has been calculated from his only *Āṅka* date in the temple of Jagannātha ; 4th *Āṅka, Kākaṛā śu* 10, Wednesday=17th July 1499. As the 3rd regnal year was 1499, the date of his accession must be 1497 A.D.

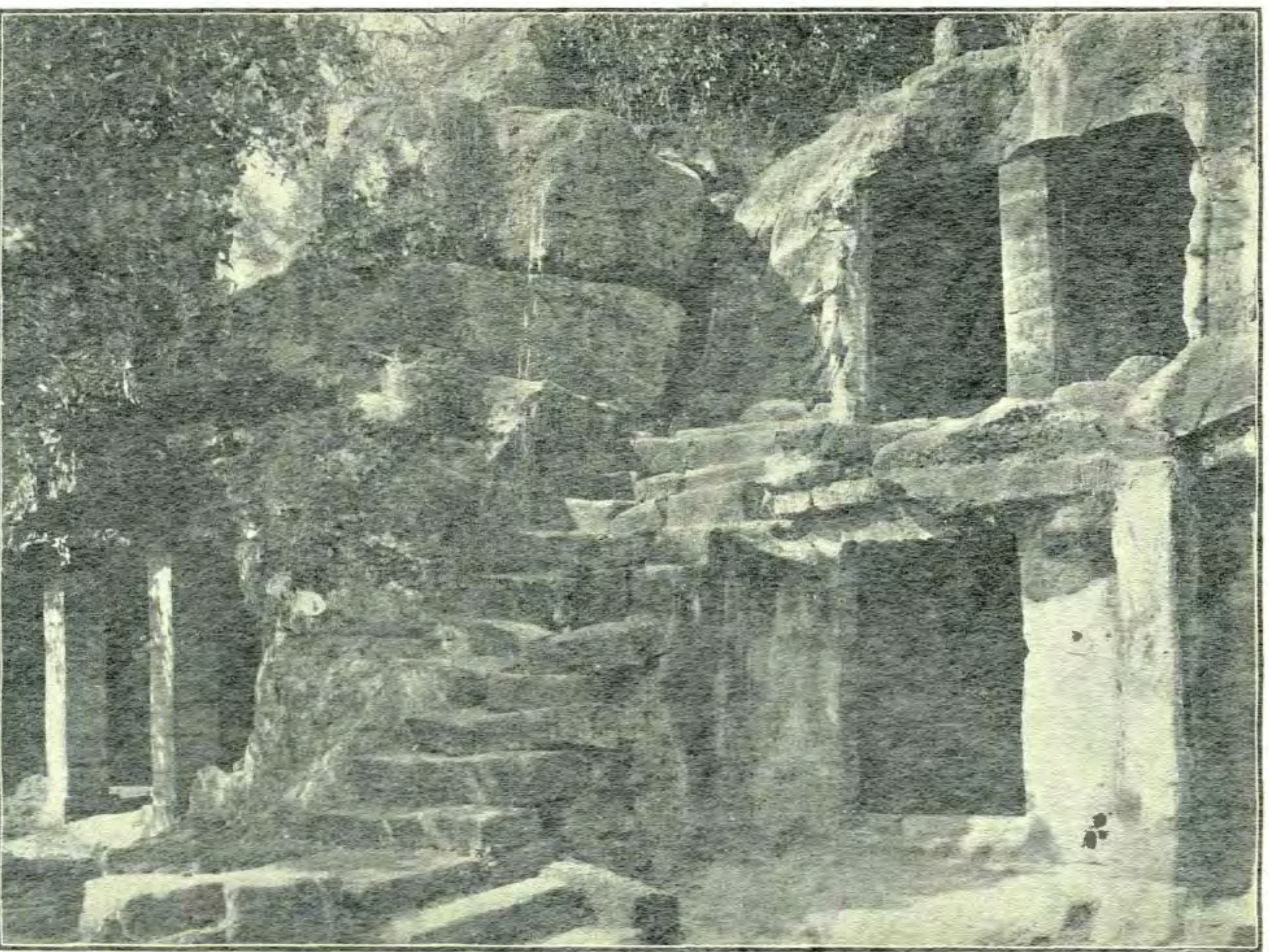
The earlier period of the long reign of Pratāparudra was very favourable to the expansion of Orissa, as the imbecile Maḥmud was on the throne of Bidar and the five great Musalman monarchies of the Deccan were already formed. There was, therefore, no chance of another Musalman irruption into the Kṛshṇā-Godāvarī *doāb* in the near future. In the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula the Sāḷuva dynasty of Vijayanagara was fast approaching extinction and the founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty, Narasa Nāyaka, was already an imposing figure in the Empire. From 1497 to 1511 Pratāparudra could have easily conquered the Tamil districts of the coast land, if he had only exerted himself. But Orissa was fast approaching a state of political stagnation to which the great religious

reformer Chaitanya of Bengal gave permanency between 1510 and 1533. Narasa Nāyaka died in 1505 and was followed by his son Vīra-Narasiṁha who deposed the nominal Śāḷuva emperor Immāḍi Narasiṁha.[1] Nunez has recorded that the death of Narasa Nāyaka was followed by a widespread revolution of the Nāyakas of the empire of Vijayanagara.[2] When Kṛshṇadevarāya succeeded his brother in December 1509 or January 1510, Pratāprudra's chance of extension came to an end, because the greatest emperor of Vijayanagara had two ambitions the conquest of the eastern coast from Orissa and the humbling of the power of the Musalmans. The first years of the reign of Kṛshṇadevarāya were spent in suppressing rebellions, but he very wisely invaded the southern provinces of the empire of Orissa before tackling the 'Ādil-Shāhī Sulṭāns of Bijapur. The new emperor's aims were known to his people and two inscriptions from Nagalapuram in the Chingleput district inform us that people were applying to Kṛshṇadevarāya for things to be performed after his victorious return from the campaign against the Gajapati king.

The Portuguese writer Nunez has preserved a valuable account of the series of campaigns conducted against Pratāparudra of Orissa by the greatest emperor of Vijayanagara. According to him Narasa Nāyaka had enjoined upon his son in his last will and testament the necessity of capturing Raichuru Mudkal from the Musalmans and Udayagiri from the Oṛiyās. The army collected by Kṛshṇadeva consisted of 34,000 foot and

1. *Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 494-95.*

2. *Sewell—A Forgotten Empire, p. 314.*



Double storeyed cave—Udaygiri, Puri District

800 elephants and arrived at Udayagiri. Though the Oṛiyā garrison consisted of 10,000 foot and 400 horse the place held out for a year and a half on account of its great natural strength. Kṛshṇadevarāya cut roads through the surrounding hills and carried the place by assault. On this occasion an aunt of the king Pratāparudra was captured. According to inscriptions one Tirumala Rāūtarāya or Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya, an uncle of Pratāparudra called Rāghavarāya or Kaṇṭharāya, was captured at Udayagiri. Evidently, Pratāparudra had made Koṇḍaviḍu the base of his operations in the last war against Vijayanagara. When Udayagiri fell in 1513—the date is certain as an image of Bālakṛshṇa captured at Udayagiri was dedicated by him in 1514—Kṛshṇadevarāya turned against Koṇḍaviḍu. Pratāparudra hastened with a large army in order to relieve Koṇḍaviḍu but was defeated about four miles from the fortress on the bank of the Kṛshṇā estuary. The siege of Koṇḍaviḍu continued and the great fortress capitulated two months after the battle. The renowned minister Sāḷva Timma was placed in charge of Koṇḍaviḍu. The Vijayanagara army proceeded to invest Koṇḍapalle and occupied the whole country as far as Rājamahendrī. Koṇḍaviḍu was captured on Saturday the 23rd June 1515 and the date is given many times in the Mangalagiri inscriptions. In this campaign one of Pratāparudra's sons was captured by Kṛshṇadeva Rāya.[1] According to the local chronicle of Koṇḍaviḍu, this son Vīrabhadra was the Viceroy of Koṇḍaviḍu *Daṇḍapāṭa* till its capture in 1515.[2] Vijayanagara inscriptions prove

1 *Epi., Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 110-11.*

2 *A sketch of the dynasties of Southern India, y. 48,*

that Pratāparudra had descended to the level of employing Musalman mercenaries in his campaign against Kṛishṇa-devarāya. Among the notables captured by the Vijayanagara army were two Hindus named Kumāra Hammīra Mahāpātra and Keśāva-Pātra and two Musalman generals named Mallū Khān and Uddaṇḍa Khān of Raichur. Mallū Khan can be recognised as a Musalman name, but it is difficult to reduce the term Uddaṇḍa to its Perso-Arabic equivalent. The late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri argued from the connection of Raichur with these two names that they were officers or nobles of the Adil-Shāhi Sulṭāns of Bijapur. The acquisition of help from a Musalman neighbour to fight with a Hindu adversary involved a moral and political degradation in the Hindu world which can be easily understood by those who are familiar with Rajput history, but this was not the only occasion when Pratāparudra employed Musalman mercenaries against Hīndus.

After the fall of Koṇḍaviḍu Kṛshṇadevarāya consolidated his conquests by the reduction of the important inland fortresses in the country at the foot of the ghats, such as Vinukoṇḍā on the Gundlakamma river and Ballamkonda near Amarāvatī. In the third campaign Kṛshṇadevarāya crossed the Kṛshṇa and camped at Bezwada. His object was the great fort of Koṇḍapalle under the charge of the Oṛiya minister *Praharāja Śiraśchandra Mahāpātra.* According to Nunez, all the chiefs of the empire of Orissa were collected at Kaṇḍapalle. Among the notables captured after the fall of Koṇḍapalle was a queen of Pratāparudra and another son along with seven of the principal nobles. An inscription from Kāḷahasti mentions two of the nobles, Boḍaijeṇā Mahāpātra

and Bijlī Khān. *Prahārāja Śiraśchandra Mahāpātra* and *Boḍai-Jenā Mahāpātra* are not proper names but Oṛiyā official titles.

From Koṇḍapalle Kṛshṇadevarāya continued his march northwards and arrived at Siṁhāchalam near Vizagapatam. He acquired all the districts of the sea-board, including the hill districts of Nalgonda and Khammamet, at present in the Nizam's dominions. At Siṁhāchalam he is said to have have erected a pillar of victory about which the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri stated that "there exists even to-day records in Telegu characters written on the basement of the entrance into the *Āsthāna Maṇḍapa* and on a pillar on the verandah round the Lakshmī-Narasiṁha-Svāmin temple at Siṁhāchalam which relate in unmistakable terms the victories of Kṛshṇadevarāya, his stay at Siṁhādri and his gifts to the temple.[1] According to the *Pārijā-apaharanamu* and other Telegu works, Kṛshṇadevarāya devastated Orissa and burnt the capital Kaṭaka, but there is no epigraphical corroboration for such statements. In 1519 Kṛshṇadevarāya gave certain villages, which had been granted to him by the Gajapati king, to the temple.

In three or four campaigns Kṛshṇadevarāya had compelled Pratāparudra to cede that part of his empire which lay to the south of the Godāvarī. According to Nunez, Pratāparudra was compelled to give one of his daughters in marriage to Kṛshṇadevarāya.[2] This marriage is also mentioned in the *Rāyavāchakamu* where the Oriya princess is called Jaganmohinī. The marriage is also

1. *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1908-9, p. 179.*
2. *A Forgotten Empire, p. 320.*

mentioned in the *Kṛishṇa-rāya-vijayam* and *Tamil-Navalar-Charitai*.[1] She is also called Tukkā. After her marriage she was neglected by her husband and led a life of seclusion at Kambam in the Cuddappa district.[2] Pratāparudra's son, Vīrabhadra, remained in honourable confinement till the end of the war. He became the governor of the district of *Malega-Beṇṇur-sīme* and remitted taxes on marriages in 1516 for the merit of his father Pratāparudra and his sovereign Kṛshṇadevarāya.[3]

The decline of Orissa was now rapid and within forty years of the end of the Vijayanagar war, Jajpur was already in the occupation of the Musalmans of Bengal. According to the Riyāz-us-salāṭīn, 'Alāuddīn Husain Shāh of Bengal conquered all the kingdoms between Gaur and Orissa. According to the *Mādāla Pañji* 'Ismail Ghāzī of Bengal commanded the Musalman expedition into Orissa during the reign of Pratāparudra. "In A. D. 1509 Ismail Ghāzi (named Surasthāna in M. Pānji) a general of the Bengal Nawab, made a dash into Orissa, ravaged the country, sacked Puri town and destroyed a number of Hindu temples. Pratāparudra hurried from the south and the Mahomedan general retreated. He was closely pursued and defeated on the bank of the Ganges. The general took refuge in fort Mandaran (sub-division Jahanabad, district Hooghly) and was besieged. But one of the Raja's high officers, Govinda Vidvādhara, went over to the enemy's side; and so the Raja had to raise the siege

1. *Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp. 116, 132, & 155.*
2. *Ibid., p. 143.*
3. *Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IX, Dg. 107.*

and retire to Orissa."[1] A reference to the war with the Musalmans of Bengal is to be found in the Kavali plates of Pratāparudra of the Śaka year 1432=1510-11 A. D. We learn from this inscription that Pratāparudra recovered his kingdom from the king of Gauḍa, who was defeated by him. He is called *Pañcha-Gaud-adhināyaka*. He was ruling over Choḷamandala and the grant was issued from Uṇḍrakoṇḍa, the capital of Pākanāḍu. The Bengal campaign took place in the reign of 'Alāuddin Husain Shāh and not Shamsuddin Muẓaffar Shāh, as stated by the government epigraphist for Madras, Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, in 1921. [2] The Kavali grant was issued in 1510 and Muẓaffar Shah of Bengal had ceased to reign in 1493.[3] during the life time of Purushottama.

The Musalman peril was getting stronger in another direction. After the dismemberment of the Bahmanī empire, the Quṭb-shāhī kingdom of Golkonda was growing stronger on the eastern coast and Sultān Qūlī was striving his utmost to regain the lost domination of the Musalmans over that area. He had declared his independence in 1512 and begun to consolidate his power in Telingana. So long as Kṛshṇadevarāya was in the field, Sulṭān Qūlī remained quiet. There is no mention of his taking any side in the war with Orissa. Inspite of the statements of *Firishta*, it is perfectly clear that Sulṭan Qūlī did not effect any conquest in any Hindu kingdom in Telingana so long as Kṛshṇadevarāya was in

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 186.*
2. *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent, for Epigraphy,* Southern *Circle, for 1921, p. 113.*
3. *Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 696.*

the field. As soon as war broke out between Kṛshṇadevarāya and Sulṭān Ismail 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijāpur, Sulṭān Qūlī found it easier to despoil the monarch of Orissa. This is the only possible time for Sulṭān Qūlī Quṭb Shah to have invaded and conquered any part of Hindu Telingana. Briggs thought that the invasion of Orissa by the Musalmans of Golkonda took place in 1511 (See his Comparative Chronology of Deccan kingdoms, principally during the 16th century, at the end of Volume III, Cambray's edition of 1910, of his "Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India"). He actually put the capture of Ballamkanda and Koṇḍapalle against this date. But in the text he says : "After having repaired the fort of Golkonda Sulṭān Koolly Kootb Shah turned his thought towards the reduction of the fortress of Roykonda."[1] The long rambling narrative of *Firishta* bears on its face the stamp of untruth and confusion. In the first place there was no king in Orissa named Rāmchandra Gajapati between 1512 and 1543 or during the entire reign of Sulṭān Qūlī Quṭb Shāh. In the second place Kṛshṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara ascended the throne in December 1509 or January 1510. His campaign against Orissa began early in 1512, as Udayagiri fell in 1513, Koṇḍaviḍu in 1515 and Koṇḍapalle in 1517. The series of records of Kṛshṇadevarāya at Koṇḍaviḍu, Kaza, Maṅgalagiri and finally at Siṁhāchalam-Potṇuru prove that during this period, 1512-17, no Muhammadan king could have captured the area between Koṇḍaviḍu and Waltair-Siṁhāchalam, thus proving *Firishta's* statement about the conquest of Ballamkonda, Koṇḍaviḍu and Koṇḍpalle by

[1] *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, Vol. III, p. 354.*

Sulṭān Qālī Quṭb Shāh to be entirely untrue. If Sulṭān Qūlī had really conquered these places, then he must have done so after 1519. Therefore, the late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti was perfectly correct in dating the Musalman invasion from Golkonda in 1522.[1] There is no mention of the capture of Koṇḍavidu by the Musalmans in the local chronicle of Koṇḍaviḍu.[2] Sewell mentions an inscription of Sulṭān Qūlī Quṭb Shāh at Koṇḍapalle,[3] but there is no inscription from that place recorded in Horovitz list of published Muhammadan inscriptions in India in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.

Suddenly, from the beginning of the 16th century a decline set in the power and prestige of Orissa with a corresponding decline in the military spirit of the people. This decline is intimately connected with the long residence of the Bengali Vaishnava saint Chaitanya in the country. If we accept only one-tenth of what the Sanskrit and Bengali biographies of the saint state about his influence over Pratāparudra and the people of the country, even then, we must admit that Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and the people of Orissa. Not only that; the acceptance of Vaishnavism or rather Neo-Vaishnavism was the real cause of the Musalman conquest of Orissa twenty-eight years after the death of Pratāparudra. Considered as a religion, Indian *Bhakti-mārga* is sublime, but its effect on the political status of the country or the nation which accepts it, is terrible.

1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 185.*

2 *Sketch of the dynasties of South India, p. 48.*

3 *Ibid., p. 28.*

The religion of equality and love preached by Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroyed the structure of society and government in Bengal and Orissa, because, in reality, no two men are born equal and government depends upon brute force specially in a country like India in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries A. D. A wave of religious fervour passed over the country, and during this reformation Orissa not only lost her empire but also her political prestige. The effect of Vaishṇavism on the society and government of Orissa was far more destructive than in Bengal, because in the latter country militant Saktism was not destroyed totally and the effect of Neo-Vaishṇavism was beneficent to the extent of bringing within the pale of society a number of decadent Buddhists who had been outcasted by orthodox Brahmanism. In Orissa, on account of its acceptance by royalty, Neo-Vaishṇavism became fashionable, and powerful officers of Pratāparudra, like Rāmānanda Rāya, the governor of Rājamahendrī before its final loss and Gopīnātha Baṛajenā, that of the Maljyāṭhā *Daṇḍapāṭa* or Medinipur, were the most notable converts after the king himself. The result was corrosive, though Tāranātha, the Buddhist historiographer, has recorded that some form of Buddhism lingered in Orissa till the end of the 16th century, gradually stamping out all other sects of Hinduism from the country.

An educated Oriya, the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, a munsiff of the Madras presidency, wrote a short note on Rāmānanda Rāya in 1920, voicing the modern Oriya opinion on this officer of Pratāparudra. According to Mr. Rath, Rāmānanda belonged to the Karṇa family and

was an Oṛiyā by birth. He was the eldest son of Bhavānanda Paṭṭanāyaka who resided both at Puri and Katak. Rāmānanda rose to be the prime-minister of Pratāparudra and governed the southern viceroyalty from Vidyānagara near Rājamahendrī. It appears that this Vidyānagara may be Vizianagram. In 1510 Rāmānanda met Chaitanya on the banks of the Godāvarī and, being struck by his appearance, became one of his earliest disciples. Chaitanya had heard of Rāmānanda from one of his notable disciples, the logician Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācharya, and is said to have been attracted towards Rāmānanda on account of his piety and learning. The romantic story of the meeting between Chaitanya and Rāmānanda is cited with reverence by all Neo-Vaishṇavas; but its result was disaster to the empire of Orissa. After meeting Chaitanya, Rāmānanda Rāya resigned his post and retired to Puri. It is said that Pratāparudra had already become possessed of a religious and spiritual turn of mind and Rāmānanda became the cause of their meeting. Their subsequent meeting and the great hold Chaitanya came to possess over this king are now well known.

At a time when the Oṛiyā nation needed the services of every honest and capable man for the defence of her political prestige and empire, Rāmānanda Raya betrayed his trust to his own people by retiring from his position on the weakest frontier of the country, and one may ascribe the fall of Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalle and Rājamahendrī to their being left in charge of young and inexperienced officers like the prince Vīrabhadra on the retirement of Rāmānanda. After Chaitanya's death in 1533-34 Rāmānanda spent the remainder of his life in devotion.

He wrote a Sanskrit drama called *Sri-Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka* and several other minor works.[1]

Neo-Vaishṇava effect on Pratāparudra and his policy is only too apparent even in the literature of that sect in Bengali. In Jayānanda's *Chaitanya-maṅgala* it is stated that Pratāparudra had consulted Chaitanya about invading Bengal but that saint had dissuaded him, pointing out that the war would have a disastrous effect on his own country.[2] It is stated in the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* that Rāmānanda's brother Gopīnātha Barajenā, who was the governor of Maljyāṭhā or Medinipur, had fallen in arrears to the extent of two lakhs of *Kahans* of *cowrie*s and was ordered to be put to death by Pratāparudra, but he was saved and reinstated at the intercession of Chaitanya's disciples.[3] The *Chaitanya-bhāgavata* mentions Pratāparudra's wars with the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal and describes the devastation of the country and the destruction of images ;[4] yet the advice of Chaitanya was sufficient to cause this cowardly and religiously-minded king to desist from a proper defence of his own teritories.[5]

What happened to Pratāparudra after the humiliating treaty with Kṛshṇadevarāya we are not in a position to determine. Vijayanagara panegyrists credit him with another invasion of the Vijayanagara empire. But the account is incredible, because a few Telugu verses by

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. VI, 1920, pp. 448-53.*

[2] *Chaitanya-mangala, published by the Banqiya Sahitya Parishad.*

[3] *Antya-Khaṇḍa, 9th parichheda, Bangabāsī edition.*

[4] *Antya-Khaṇḍa, 2nd adhyāya, pp. 772, 779-80 ; 4th adhyāya, pp. 865-66.*

[5] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, 1900, pp. 186-7.*

Kṛshṇadevarāya's favourite Telugu poet, Allasāni Peddan, were said to have been sufficent to compel Pratāparudra to retire in haste and confusion.[1]

At Puri Chaitanya died, or as his disciples believe, was carried away bodily to heaven in 1533-34. Pratāparudra survived him for six years. It has been deduced by Chakravarti from the date of the accession of Govinda Vidyādhara of the Bhoi dynasty that Pratāparudra must have died early in 1540. According to tradition as recorded in the *Jagannātha-Charit-āmrita*, a biography of the Oṛiyā saint, Jagannātha Dāsa, the founder of the *Atibara* sect of Oṛiyā Vaishṇavas, Pratāparudra survived Chaitanya.[2]

Pratāparūdra is known from a number of inscriptions discovered at Puri and other places. The earliest of them are to be found on the left hand side of the Jaya-Vijaya gate of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannātha. In the 4th *Aṅka* Wednesday the 17th July 1499 orders were issued for the performance of dancing at the time of *Bhoga* of Jagannatha and Balarāma from the end of the evening *dhūpa* to the time of the *Baṛasiṅgār* or bed time. The dancing girls of Balarāma and of Kapilesvāra, the old batch and the Telinga batch, all of them were to learn the singing of the *Gītagovinda* only. Besideś dancing, four other Vaishṇava singers were also to sing from the same work of Jayadeva. It is stated at the end of the record that the Superintendent who allows any other song except those in the *Gītagovinda* will cause a violation of the orders of the god Jagannātha. The second inscription

1 *Sources of Vijayanagara History, p. 153.*

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 185.*

inscription was found at the same place. It is fragmentary and contains nothing beyond the name and the titles of the king and the date, 5th *Āṅka*.[1] Details of the plates of Pratāparudra of the Śaka year 1432 *Pramoda* 1510-11 A. D., are not available. They were discovered by the district Munsif of Kavali in the Nellore district. The charter records the grant of the village of Velicherla in the Jala-danki-Sthala of the Paṅkanaṭī Sīmā to the east Udayachala or Udayagiri fort who was ruling at Uṇḍrakoṇḍā to a brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and Yajurveda named Koṇḍaya who was a resident of the village of Pulugulla.[2] The importance of these plates lie in the fact that they bear the only known charter of Pratāparudra and were issued shortly before the conquest of Koṇḍaviḍu by Kṛshṇadeva-rāya of Vijayanagara. They prove that even in 1511 the Nellore district and the former Vijayanagara capital of Udayagiri was included in the empire of Orissa, thus emphasising the need of the last request of Narasa Nāyaka to his son, according to Nunez, enjoining the immediate conquest of Udayagiri in the east and Raichur-Mudkal in the west.

With the death of Pratāparudra the pall of dense darkness descends upon the mediæval history of Orissa, to be lifted only with the Mughal conquest of the province half a century later. Inspite of Neo-Vaishṇavite teaching and Chaitanya's religion of universal love and toleration the repeated treachery of Hindu Oriyas brought the power and prestige of Orissa down within a very short time and hastened the conquest of the southern vice-royalty by the

1 *Ibid., Vol. LXII, 1893, part I, pp. 96-97.*

2 *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superinetendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1921, pp. 16, No. 12, 113, para 70.*

Quṭb-Shāhi Sulṭans of Golkonda and the Afghan-Sur dynasty of Bengal. The result was intense anarchy, during which the Garhjāt chiefs assumed independence. The next important step in the decline of Orissa was the religious superiority of Jagannātha and its hierarchy of temple priests. We have already seen in the chapter on Kapilendra that public proclamations were incised on the Jaya-Vijaya gate of the *Jagamahona* of Jagannātha; not only so, whenever the Gajapati king was in trouble, he went and expressed a pious wish about his trouble at the feet of Jagannatha. From this period the importance of the Śaiva hierarchy of *Āmra-tīrtha* or Bhuvaneśvara decline definitely and the king becomes the representative of the Lord Jagannātha in exclusion to Kṛittivāsa of Bhuvaneśvara or Vimala of Jajpur and Kinchikeśvarī of Kiching, as much as the holy Roman emperor was of the See of Rome.

The religious element had become ubiquitous, as much as the cult of the Sun under Akhen-Aton, Louis Quatorze of France, Kumārapāla of Gujarat and the Mughal emperor Aurangzib Alamgir of Delhi. The decline of the power and prestige of Orissa is solely due to the national adoption of the sublime Bhakti-mārga of Chaitanya. The effect on the condition of the princes of Orissa may be judged by the Garhjat chiefs of the present day who worship Śākta images in secret and in subordination to Vaishṇava deities. On the society of the middle and lower classes the effect was far more terrific, compelling poor starving people who ate in the public kitchens during the famines of the British period into a separate class and caste still called *Sattra-Khiyās.*

CHAPTER XXII

THE LAST OF THE GAJAPATIS

Two sons of Pratāparudra are known to us from the local chronicle *Mādalā Pāñji*. Even their proper names have not been recorded and they are mentioned only by their nicknames. The eldest of them Kālu-ā Deva, succeeded Govinda Vidyādhara, who had already rebelled during the war with the Sulṭāns of Bengal, at the time when Pratāparudra was besieging Isma'il Ghāzī in the fort of Mandāran,—and became all powerful. According to the *Mādalā Pāñji*, he was murdered by Govinda after a reign of one year, five months and three days. No record of his time has been discovered and the only record in which Kālu-ā Deva is mentioned is the temple records of Jagannātha.

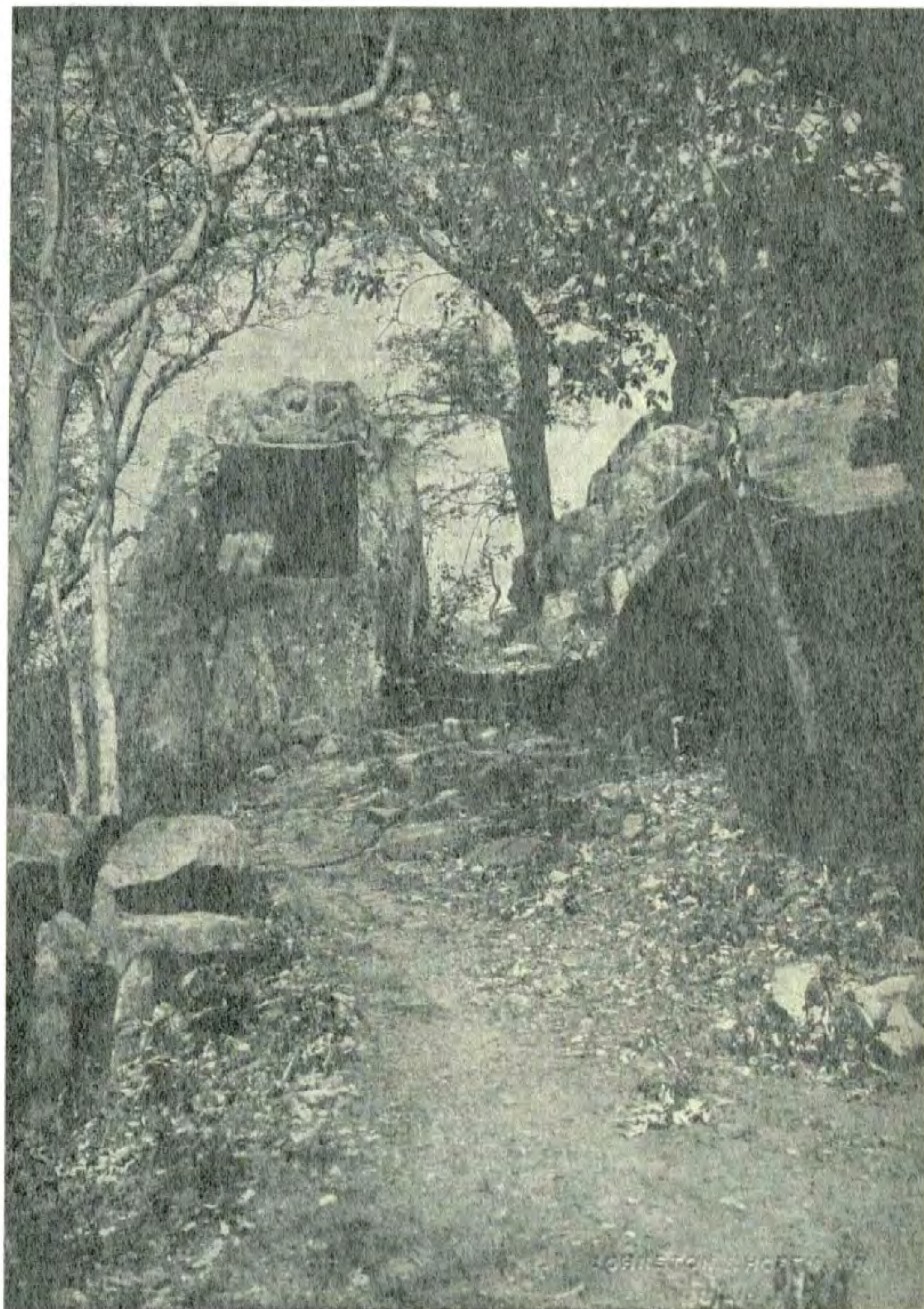
He was succeeded by another son of Pratāparudra, named Kakhāṛu-ā Deva, who was most probably placed on the throne by Govinda Vidyādhara. According to the chronicles, Pratāparudra had left several sons but all of them were murdered along with Kakhāṛu-ā Deva. The murder of these two kings is admitted by all writers, all of whom depend upon the *Mādalā Pāñji*. Govinda Vidyādhara then ascended the throne and became the founder of the Bhoi dynasty.

The length of the reign of Kakhāṛu-ā Deva is not mentioned by Chakravarti and it is therefore not possible to ascertain when the Sūrya-vaṁśa dynasty became

extinct. Govinda ascended the throne in 1541-42, as his 4th *Āṅka* fell in 1543 A. D. It is therefore apparent that he ascended the throne some time in 1541 or 1542, as 1543 was his third regnal year. If we accept that he came to the throne late in 1542, even then we must add one year and six months of the reign of Kālu-ā Deva. Thus we find that Pratāparudra died either late in 1539 or early in 1540. But as no statement of the *Mādalā Pāñji* can be relied on without corroboration, it is extremely doubtful what happened during the interval between Chaitanya's death in 1533-34 and the accession of Govinda Vidyādhara in 1541-1542. The dynasty founded by Govinda is called the Bhoi dynasty, because he belonged to the writer or Bhoi caste. Only one inscription of this king is known and for the rest we have to depend on the *Mādalā Pānji*. According to one version of that record, Govinda reigned for seven years but according to another for eleven years and seven months. Mr. Chakravarti, with his ripe experience of Oṛiyā temple records and votive inscriptions, considered the shorter period as being more probable and consistent with the regnal years which follow. Five kings of Orissa reigned between the extinction of the Sūrya vaṁśa dynasty and the final conquest of northern Orissa in 1568. Out of these 26 years, Mukunda Harichandana ruled for eight years, leaving eighteen years only for three generations of the Bhoi dynasty, out of which if eleven and a half years are assigned to Govinda Bidyadhara only seven are left for his son and two grandsons.

According to the *Mādalā Pāñji* the Sulṭāns of Golkonda (Jamshed Qūlī Quṭb Shāh, 1543-50) invaded Orissa in the 7th *Āṅka* or the 5th year of the reign. While Govinda

Vidyādhara was in the south, his sister's son, Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa Rāya, rebelled in the north with the assistance of the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal. This statement of the *Mādalā Pāñji* requires careful analysis. In the first place, Raghu was a Bhañja and he was sufficiently close to the frontiers of Musalman territory in Bengal or Bihar to be helped by them. In the second place, he is called a Chhota Rāya or the second son of a king. He was therefore not the king of Mayurbhañja or Keonjhar, but a younger brother or uncle of one of these kings. In the third place, the first two conclusions make it certain that he was a Garhjāt chief or the general of one, evidently of the Bhañja kingdoms of Mayurbhañja or Keonjhar. In the fourth place, Fariduddīn Sher Shāh had died on 24th May 1545 and had been succeeded by his son Islām Shāh, under whom Bengal and Bihar were included in the Afghan empire of Delhi. There was no independent Musalman kingdom in Bengal and Bihar till Islam Shah's death in 1553. Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa Rāya had therefore rebelled with the help of either Muhammad Khān Sūr or any of his predecessors. The rebellion of Raghu Bhañja shows the true position of the Bhañjas of Mayurbhañja and Keonjhar on the political stage of Orissa, a position which they continued to occupy till they were hemmed in on all sides with British territory. As soon as the trunk became weak and the great Gajapati a mere shadow of his former splendour, the Bhañja chiefs rose in instant rebellion and continued to defy their overlord by alliance with a foreign power. The result of Raghu Bhañja's rebellion made the king hurry back to northern Orissa and sudbue the Garhjāt chief, neglecting the



Sarpagumpha—Udaygiri, Puri Distrct

southern provinces of the empire. There is an echo of the rebellion of Raghu Bhañja in the only known inscription of Govinda Vidyādhara. The Jagannātha temple inscription contains an injunction to the Garhjāt chiefs for obedience. This is the first epigraphical record of the term *Garhjāt*. It is not possible even now to ascertain how much of Orissa to the north of the Godāvarī was conquered by Jamashed Qūlī Quṭb Shāh during the campaign of 1545-46. Mr. Chakravarti is perhaps right in placing the death of Govinda Vidyādhara in *Circa* 1549 A.D.

In the Jagannātha temple inscription on the right side of the Jaya-Vijaya gate Govinda Vidyādhara uses the high-sounding titles of the Sūrya Vaṁśa dynasty, *e.g.*, *Gajapati, Gauḍeśvara, Nava-koṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavarageśvara* and *Māna-Govinda, Vīravarapratāpa* and *Pratāpa-deva-Mahārāja.* The object of the record is a proclamation like those of Kapilendra. It runs thus :

"Oh Jagannātha, without going and coming to see your lotus feet all appear as hell. The gifts of pilgrims (of places) up to Vindhya and Udayagiri mountains, whether native or foreigner (rest illegible)...The kings of Garhjāt, (illegible) will obey. He who violates this order rebels against Jagannātha, and gets the sin of killing a brāhmaṇ with one's own hands. (Here follow four stanzas of Sanskrit slokas."[1]

Govinda Vidyādhara was succeeded, according to the *Mādalā Pāñji,* by his son Chakra-Pratāpa or as he is known locally Chakā-Pratāpa. According to one version of the

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, 1893, Part I, pp. 101-102.*

Mādalā Pañji, this king ruled for eight years and according to another twelve years and a half. Mr. Chakravarti, with his usual historical acumen, has accepted the shorter period, making his reign end in 1557. The *Mādalā Pāñji* represents him as a bad king who oppressed the people. Nothing is known of the reign of this king and no record has been discovered of the period. He is not even known to us from any other source. At the close of his reign he was succeeded hy his son Narasiṁha Rāya Jenā, who was murdered by the general Mukunda Harichandana, a Telinga by birth, after a reign of one month and sixteen days. . A civil war now ensued between Raghurāma Jenā, a younger son of Chakra Pratāpa and Mukunda Harichandana, who defeated and captured the prime ministers of the kings of the Bhoi dynasty, named Dānāi Vidyādhara and at the same time defeated and captured Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa Rāya, who had once more invaded Orissa from the north with the help of the Musalmans of Bengal. Finally after one year seven months and fourteen days Mukunda Harichandana succeeded in capturing the king and ascended the throne atter putting him to death. This long record of Hindu treachery and murders comes to a temporary halt in 1559-60 with the accession of Mukunda Harichandana. Inspite of his crimes he is remembered with affection in Orissa as the last Hindu king of the country who gave some respite to the people from continual warfare. But before he had succeeded in making himself secure on the throne of Orissa, the northern part of the country was captured by the Musalmans of Bengal. In 1560, which was the first or the second year of the reign of Mukunda Harichandana, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣuddīn

Jalāl Shāh of the Sūr dynasty of Bengal had conquered northern Orissa as far as Jajpur and established a mint at that place.[1] Only one coin from this mint has been discovered, and none are to be found in any of the Indian museums.

Mukunda Harichandana was an inhabitant of Telingana and is therefore called Telinga Mukundadeva by the people of Orissa and the local chronicles. He was a man of exuberant energy and a skilled general. He would have succeeded in maintaining the independence of the country had he not been surrounded by traitors on all sides. His short reign of eight years was spent in continual warfare and the last Hindu king of Orissa died on the battlefield. Though he obtained his throne by a successful revolt, he obtained respect of his neighbours by overthrowing Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa Rāya and driving out his Musalman allies. If the *Mādalā Pāñji* is to be believed, then Mukunda Harichandana drove out the Musalmans from northern Orissa and reoccupied the northern districts up to the river Bhāgīrathī. A ghat in the holy *tīrtha* of Triveṇī on the Ganges, a few miles to the north of the Hughly in Bengal, is still ascribed to him. When the crafty Mughal emperor Akbar I was planning the conquest of Bengal, he considered it necessary to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive with Mukunda Harichandana in order to attack the Afghans of Bengal from both sides. He sent Hasan Khān Khazānchī as an ambassador to Orissa. Ibrahīm Khan Sūr fled after his defeat in the Panjab to Bengal, but shortly afterwards he had to run away from Gaur to

[1] *Thomas-Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 417.*

Orissa. Mukunda Harichandana gave him shelter and assigned some property for his maintenance. On account of this protection Sulaimān Khān Kararānī failed to capture Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr. The defeat of the Musalman army in the campaign for the restoration of Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa Rāya and the succour to Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr made Sulaimān Kararānī of Bengal the inveterate enemy of Mukunda Harichandana. This fact became known to Akbar, who proceeded immediately to ally himself with such a great enemy of Kararānī Afghans of Bengal. Akbar's ambassadors requested Mukunda Harichandana to prevent Sulaimān Kararānī from assisting 'Ali Qūlī Khān-i-Zaman. The repeated revolts of 'Alī Qūlī, the son of one of Humayun's trusted offcers, are too well known to be mentioned.[1] Perhaps Akbar's intentions were to persuade Mukunda Harichandana to create a diversion in favour of the Mughals in case Sulaimān Kararānī of Bengal joined 'Alī Qūlī Khān. Mukunda kept Ḥasan Khān Khazānchī for four months in Orissa and then sent him back with costly presents and some elephants. At the same time he sent his own envoy named Paramānanda Rāya to the Court of Akbar.[2] Nothing of advantage accrued to Mukunda Harichandana from the Mughal alliance. When Akbar was engaged in his famous siege of Chitore, Sulaimān seized the opportunity to crush Orissa and Mukunda's protegee, Ibrāhīm Khān Śūr. Mukundadeva did not receive any help from Khān-i-Khānān Mun'im Khān and both he and

1 *Āin-i-Ākbarī Eng., trans., vol. I, pp. 319-20.*

2 *Ākbarnāmā, Eng. trans., vol. II, p. 381.*

Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr were put to death after the conquest of Orissa.[1]

The *Mādalā Pāñji* contains a more detailed account of the wars of Mukundadeva with the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal, which has been recently collected with great labour by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A.,F.A.S.B. from five different collections of palm-leaf records :

A. Two manuscripts marked A and B, sent by Babu Gauranga Charan Samanta Roy, Deul Karan of the temple of Jagannātha and

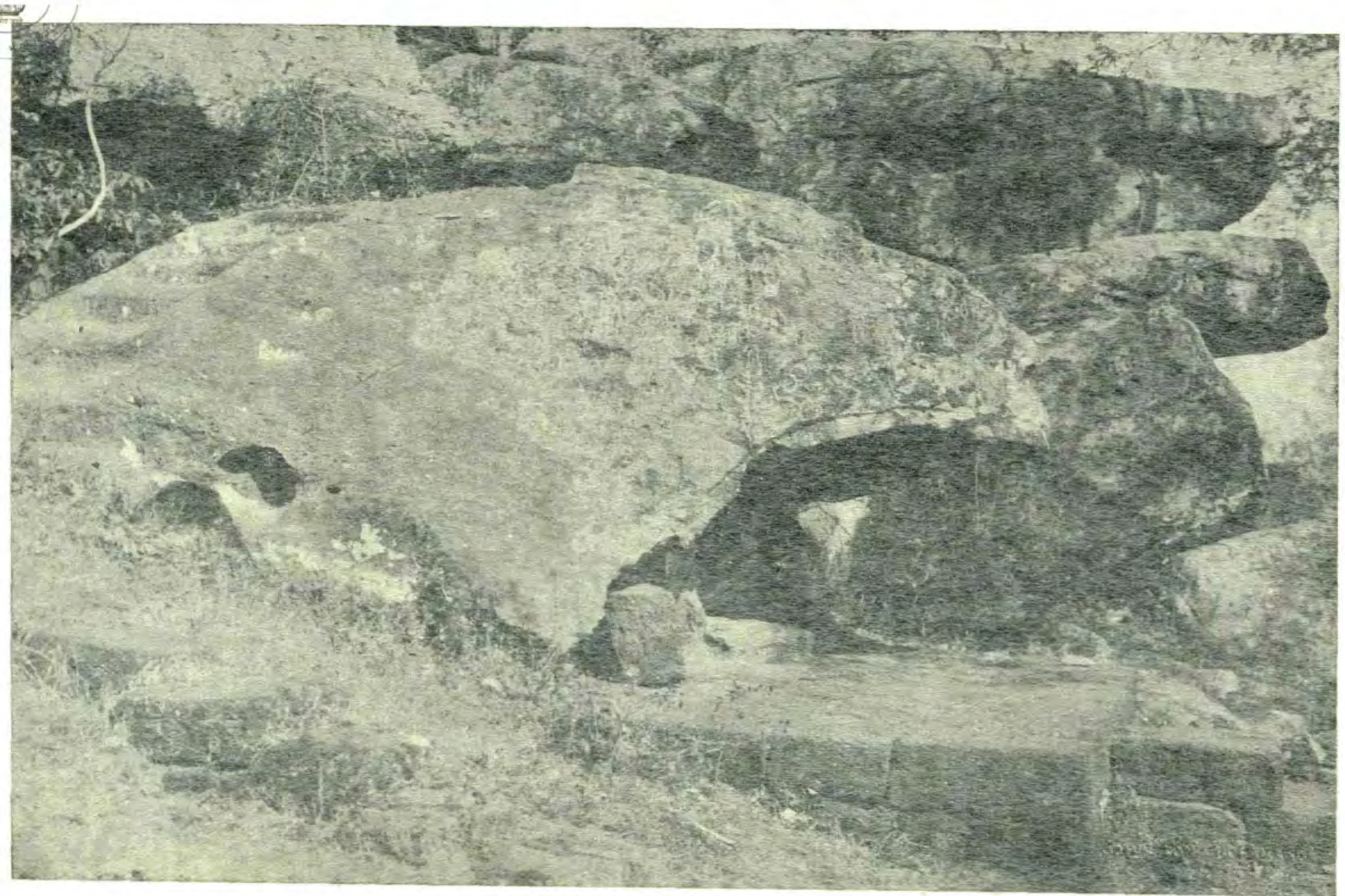
B. Three manuscripts marked C, D and E, sent by Babu Shyam Sundar Pāṭnāyak, the Tadhau Karan of the same temple.

In the 10th *Āṅka*, *i. e.*, the 8th year of his reign, Mukunda Harichandana had advanced as far as the Ganges. It was at this time that the alliance with the emperor Akbar was concluded. When Sulaimān Kararānī heard of the advance of Mukunda to the north, he went with a large army and compelled Mukunda to take refuge in the fort of Kotsarma (Kotsamba according to Chakravarti). Orissa was now invaded by two different Musalman armies according to the chronicles, one of which proceeded straight south and compelled Mukunda Harichandana to seek refuge in the fort of Kotsarma, when the second entered Orissa through the bordering States of Mayurbhañja and Keonjhar under Sulaimān's son Bāyazid. Kotsarma has been identified with Kotsimul on the western bank of the river Damodar in the Hooghly district of Bengal. According to *Ākbarnāmā* and the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Mukundadeva had at that time yielded himself to self-indulgence.

1 *Ibid., pp. 478, 480.*

He sent an army under Durga Punj (Durga Bhañjā or Durga Pāñja) and Jihata Rai (Chhoṭa Rāya). According to Abu'l Fazl, these two officers corrupted the officers of the Musalman army and then turned against Mukunda Harichandana. Mukunda and the Chhoṭa Rāya were both killed and the kingdom fell to Durga Bhañja.[1] Both chronicles agree about the route taken by the second army under Bāyazid. Reaching the head waters of the Kāñsābāñsā river, Bāyazid marched through the interior of Dhalbhum and the western part of the Māyurbhañja State and surprised Katak. At that time Mukunda Harichandana was besieged in the fort of Kotsarma or Kotsīmul. Koli Sāmanta Singhāra, the commandant of Katak fort, was killed and the royal palace stormed by the Musalmans. During this confusion in the country one Rāma Chandra Bhañja, the commandant of Sarangarh fort near Katak, proclaimed himself to be the king. This unexpected treachery on the part of the Bhañja chief compelled Mukunda Harichandana to come to terms with Sulṭān Sulaimān Kararānī and hasten to Katak. A civil war now ensued during which Mukunda Harichandana was killed by Rāma Chandra Bhañja. According to the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Bāyazid attacked Rāma Chandra Bhañja and both were killed on the same day. Mukunda Harichandana died in Śaka 1490=1568 A. D. Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa Rāya, who was in prison up to this time, now escaped and tried to take possession of the country, but he was also defeated and killed by the celebrated renegade Hindu Kālāpāhāḍ. The latter had accompanied prince Bāyazid and desecrated the temple of Jagannātha

[1] *Akbarnāmā, Eng. trans., Vol. III, pp. 933-34.*



Baghgumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

and tried to destroy and burn the wooden idols. According to the *Mādalā Panji*, "During the troubles that followed the Pathan invasion Divyasiṁha Pāṭnāyak, the *Parīkṣha* or the manager of the temple of Jagannātha, removed the idols to Parikud, an island in the Chilka lake, and hid them underground at Chhavali Hathipada. Kālāpāhāḍ got scent of this, proceeded to Parikud and recovered the images. From Parikud he returned to Puri, plundered the stores (*Bāvaṇa-koṭi bhandāra*), damaged the great temple up to the *āmalaka* stone, disfigured all the images and uprooted the *Kalpa-vaṭa* tree and set fire to it after covering it with horses' dung. The images of Jagannātha was then conveyed to the bank of the Ganges and thrown into fire. It is added that the son of Kālāpāhāḍ cast the half-burnt image into the Ganges".[1]

The recent researches of Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda have thrown some more light on this dark period of the history of Orissa. The *Mādalā Pānji* states that Chakrapratāpa, the son and successor of Govinda Vidyādhara, was a tyrant and compelled brāhmaṇas to cut grass for his horses. He died in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, but according to Abu'l Fazl, he was murdered by his own son Narasiṁha Jenā.[2] It was about this time that Mukunda Harichandana and his four brothers had come from Telingana. He was indignant at the wickedness of the king and sent armed men disguised as women in covered litters inside the fort and had the king Narasiṁha Jenā killed. He then

1. *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. XIII, 1927, p. 23.*

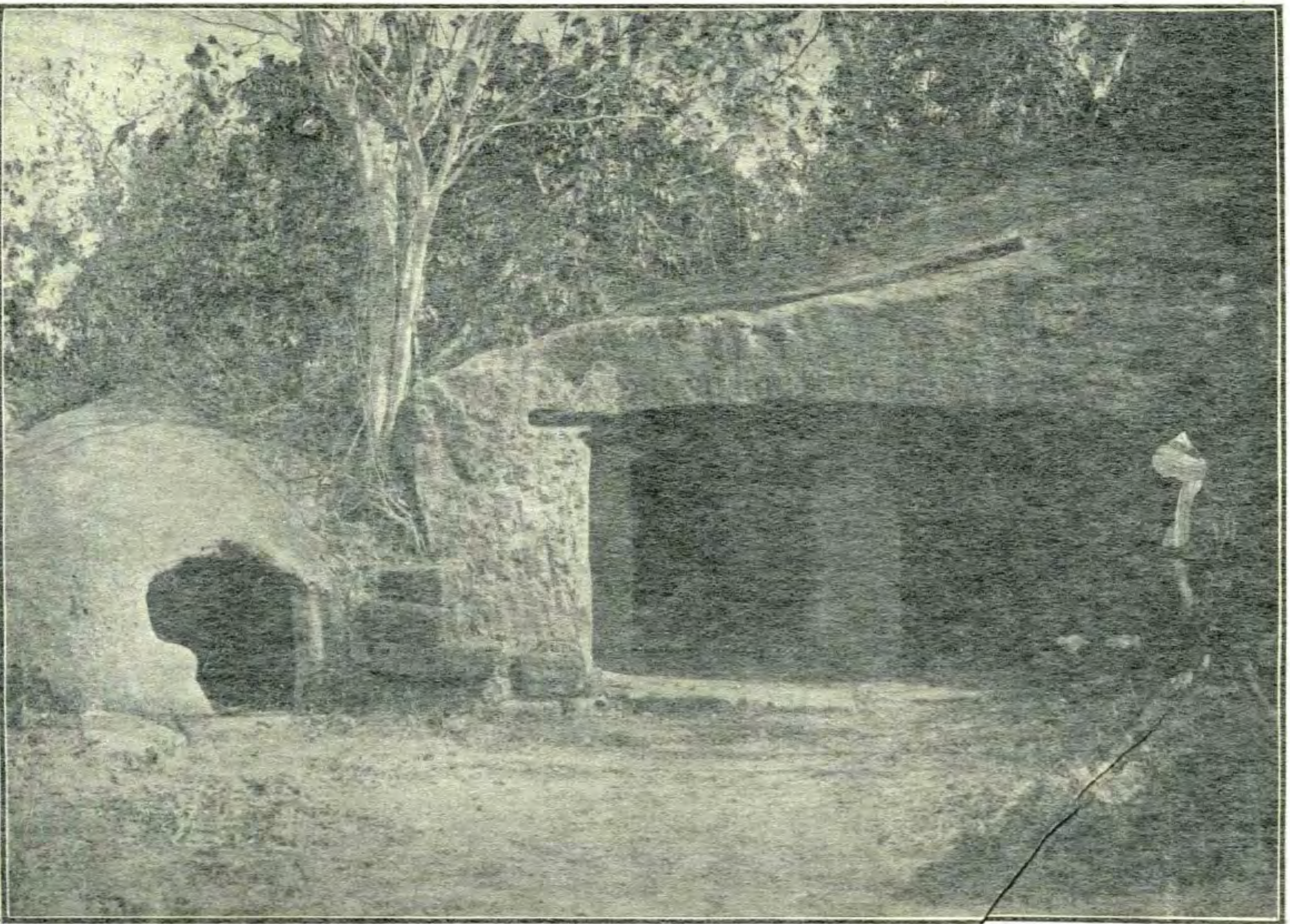
2. *Akbarnama Eng., trans., Vol. III. p. 933.*

set up the late king's brother Raghurāma Jenā on the throne. Raghurāma was murdered and removed in Śaka 1481=1559 A. D., and Mukunda ascended the throne.[1]

The death of Mukunda Harichandana, the last great Gajapati of Orissa, brought the solidarity of the country to an end. Up to this time the Gajapatis were in possession of almost the whole of the kingdom left to Pratāparudra at the time of the conclusion of the peace with Kṛshṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara in 1519. The southern limit of the kingdom of Mukunda Harichandana is indicated by a short Telugu inscription on a pillar at Drākshārāmam on the Godāvari which has not been fully published as yet. The summary published by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri is not very reliable ; "States that the king while ruling from his throne at Kataka (*i. e.*, Cuttack) having conquered the Gauḍa (country), giving promise of favour to the Gauḍa king, and having performed the pearl Tulapurusha and other donations at the Gaṅgā (? Ganges), remitted the duties on the marriages in the 27th sthalas attached to Rajamahendravaram." The inscription is dated 10th *Āṅka, di. 5, kri, 7, Ākahaya Pushya, ba 7*, a Thursday. The 10th *Āṅka* corresponds to the 8th year of the reign and the inscription must have been incised in 1568. This inscription calls Mukundadeva *Vira Mukunda-Gajapati-Mahadeva*.[2] The inscription is to be

[1] *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol, XIII, 1927, pp. 10-27.*

[2] *Annual report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy. Southern Circle for the year 1919, pp. 77, No, 335, and 106.*



Jambeswaragumpha—Udaygiri, Puri District

found on a pillar in the *Mandapa* in front of the western *Gopuram* of the temple of Bhimesvara in the village of Drākshārāmam of the Ramachandrapuram *taluqa* of the Godāvari district. It proves that up to 1578 the Gajapatis had not lost any land to the north of the Godāvari.

After the defeat and death of Mukunda Harichandana the decline of the Gajapatis was swift and sure. Mr. Chanda surmises that "Kalapahar's expedition to the Puri district of Orissa was a mere raid. Soon after he had turned his back Ramachandra-deva carved out a kingdom in southern Orissa, with Khurda as its capital."[1] This is a misstatement of facts. Two independent kingdoms were founded upon the remains of the empire of Pratāparudra, one in the south and the second in the north, both of which claimed to be Gajapatis. In the north the chiefs of Khurda were given the rank of Raja of Orissa by the Mughal Emperor Akbar at the intercession of Māna Siṁha, whom Rāmachandra I of Khurda had succeeded in bribing more heavily than Rāmachandra, the son of Mukunda Harichandana. The history of the southern Gajapatis is not so very well known. One of them is mentioned in the Bodagulo inscription on the road from Kallikota to Boirani. The inscription belongs to the reign of Muhammad Qūlī Qutb Shāh of Golkonda (1580-1612 A.D.) when the Gajapati ruler Narasiṁha was the subordinate Hindu chief. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri stated in 1914 that "The Gajapati kingdom was from 1559 in the hands of a Telegu

1. *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol, XIII 1927, p. 23.*

family of usurpers of which Mukundadeva and Bāhubalendra were members. Narasiṁha or Singabhūpala mentioned in the Bodagulo record would perhaps be another of the same family." The inscription at Bodagulo makes Narasiṁha born of the lunar race of the Sāḷvas.[1] Another inscription on a rock ten miles from Aska and four miles from Boirani mentions Narasiṁha as the Gajapati and a chief named Bāhubalendra as his subordinate. The rock inscription is dated Śaka 1512=1590 A. D., and proves that there was an independent line of the Gajapatis in the Ganjam district who were ruling as subordinates of the Quṭb-Shāhī Sultans of Golkonda. These two records prove that Sir Jadunath Sarkar was only partially correct when he stated that "The Golkonda troops advanced conquering to the Bay of Bengal and occupied the country from the Chilka lake to the Penner river. Their raiding bands penetrated as far north as Khurda, the seat of the faineant Rajah of Orissa. The Gajapati Rajah of Ganjam was ousted by the Golkonda Sultan in 1571." We have seen just now that the Bodagulo inscription and the Atagada record[2] of Śaka 1512 prove the existence of the southern Gajapatis till 1590. Moreover the Bāhuvalendras were hereditary officers whose names always appear to have been Mukundadeva. Besides the Bāhuvalendra mentioned in the Bodagulo and Atagada inscriptions a number of others are mentioned in a number of inscriptions, thus proving that the name and the office

[1] *Annual Report of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras for 1914. pp 105-106.*

[2] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol, XV, pp, 196-97.*

were hereditary to some extent. One Bāhuvalendra put to death certain officers of the Golkonda State named Ghazanfar Beg and Birlās Khān.[1] His son Mukundarāja, also called Bāhuvalendra, fled to Bengal some time before A. H., 1012=1603 A. D.[2] One Bāhuvalendra was the predecessor of these two, as he was living in Śaka 1432=1510 A. D., and was therefore a subordinate to Pratāparudra. One Bāhuvalendra issued a copper plate grant in Śaka 1517 and, therefore, appears to be the same as that mentioned in the Bodagulo and Atagada inscriptions.[3] The conquest of southern Orissa was more difficult than that of the north and the subordinate Hindu chiefs were practically independent till the foundation of the *Faujdārī* of Chikakol in 1641. "Chicacole became the seat of a Quṭb Shāhī *faujdar* some time before 1641, when a handsome mosque was built there by Shir Muhammad Khān, the first *faujdār*.[4]

In northern Orissa the title of Gajapati remained in abeyance till 1592, or 24 years, when, by a clever manupulation of religious opinion, Māna Siṁha managed to gain over the priests of Jagannātha in favour of Rāma Chandra I of Khurda against Telinga Rāmachandra. For 24 years, from 1568 till 1592, there was anarchy in Orissa and very little is known of the short Afghan rule in that province. Sulaimān Kararānī was followed by his sons Bāyazid and Dāūd and after the fall of the latter at the

1 *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, Vol. III, p. 465.*

2 *Ibid., p. 470.*

3 *The point is discussed in my note on the Atagada inscription in J. B. and O. R. S. vol. XV, pp. 201-203.*

Sarkar—History of Aurangzib, Calcutta 1912, vol. I, p. 215.

battle of Rajmahal in 1576, Orissa became a debateable country where the disaffected Afghans found refuge whenever chased out of Bengal. More often than not Mughal Subadars found it convenient to let troublesome Afghan chiefs like Qatlū or Osmān remain in possession of Orissa, and, therefore, the Mughal rule in Orissa did not really begin till the accession of the Mughal Emperor Nūruddīn Jahāngīr. The story of the Mughal-Afghan struggle for Orissa and the creation of a fresh Gajapati by the Rajput chief Māna Siṁha is narrated in the next chapter. (Second Volume)